EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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# THE POT CALLING THE KETTLE SMUTTY.



Mr. POT: "Kettle, you black, unrepresentative rogue, how dare you touch the Budget? Don't you know taxation without representation is legalised robbery?"

SERVANT: "Now then, Pot, you're blacker than he. You've been taxing women for years, and you refuse to consult them at all. It's you that want cleaning, and I'm going to do it with this brush."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing its to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

#### THE OUTLOOK.

We wish all the readers of this paper and their friends a very Happy New Year.

The General Election.

The General Election campaign has now commenced in earnest, and members of the Women's Social and Political Union and their friends are scattered up and down the country attacking the Government nominee on account of the hostility of the Liberal Government towards votes for women. In this issue of the paper we

publish the Election Address of the Women's Social and Political Union, and also a series of facts with regard to Woman Suffrage which we recommend to the attention of the electors of this country. In addition we print an article, "Points for Speakers," which deals with political issues of current interest. A topical poem, "Woman This and Woman That," will be found on page 211.

A Campaign of Propaganda.

The Women's Social and Political Union intend to turn the General Election into account not only as a great political campaign, but as a special means of propaganda. The work has to be carried out so as not only to defeat the Government candidates at the polls, but also so that after the smoke of the General Election has rolled away the Union shall be double as strong in membership, double as strong in funds, and that to every present reader of this paper a fresh reader has been added. This splendid result will be achieved if every member sets it before herself as the goal to be attained.

#### Events of the Week.

Events of the Week.

The week that has gone by, though it has been a holiday for the rest of the world, has not been without its toll of sacrifice from women, who, driven by the refusal of the Liberal Government to listen to justice, have been forced to adopt vigorous measures of protest. On Tuesday, December 21, Mr. Asquith visited Birkenhead, being smuggled across from Liverpool and back in a luggage boat. On that occasion Selina Martin and Leslie Hall were arrested at Liverpool and Lilly Norbury was arrested at Birkenhead. Lilly Norbury, who had broken the win-dows of the Liberal Club, was sent to prison for fourteen

days' hard labour, Selina Martin and Leslie Hall were remanded for one week and refused bail. Treated practically as guilty before trial, they were subjected to the wanton indignities of the prison. Against this injustice they revolted. Selins Martin was then pummelled by the wardresses, handcuffed, frog-marched so that her head banged from step to step, and finally, after having been fed by force, she was thrown down the steps handcuffed. This disgraceful treatment was meted out to prisoners who, according to the theory of English law, were still innocent.

On Monday, December 27, they were brought up before the court, and each received a sentence of one month's imprisonment with hard labour, and in addition to this an additional sentence of two months' hard labour was passed upon Selina Martin for breaking the windows of her cell as long ago as August last, the total damage being a few pence!

#### At Swansea.

Another serious abuse of justice took place at Swansea on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's expected visit. Vera Wentworth and Elsie Mackenzie were hidden in the Albert Hall at Swansea, with a view to making during Mr. Lloyd George's meeting that kind of protest by interruption which men are allowed to make with impunity. They were discovered, and were leaving the hall when they were arrested and charged with being on premises with house-breaking implements for unlawful purposes. It was also alleged that they had a toy pistol. This charge was quite false, as they had not in their possession house breaking implements nor a pistol, but simply ordinary workmen's tools. Nevertheless, they were taken to the police station, bail was refused, both at the time of their arrest and on the following morning, by the magistrate. They spent two days in prison. They knew, and everyone knew, that no charge against them could be substantiated, and finally on Friday, the 24th, they were released, the magistrate saying that no charge was preterred against them.

Treatment of Prisoners on Remand.

While they were in prison these two women, guiltless of any illegal offerce, were subjected to all manner of petty persecution. As innocent prisoners they protested against being forced to enter the prison van, and demanded to be taken under custody in a cab. This was refused them. They were searched, not by a woman officer, but by a third-class criminal, a woman of such an exceptionally low type that they could not prevent a shudder as she laid hands upon them; though they did not offer any resistance, their clothes were torn off them with unnecessary violence by this woman in the presence of a woman officer; their possessions, watch and hair combs, were taken from them. Their money was taken so that they were not able to send letters to their friends or purchase food. The prison food they refused, and had it not been for the unexpected kindness of a stranger who sent in food to the prison they would have suffered

A Hard-Pressed Government.

This method of dealing with unconvicted prisoners whom the law supposes to be innocent until they have been proved guilty is an absolute scandal, equally when it is applied to Woman Suffragists or to other prisoners, and a Government that can stoop to such methods of persecution against their political opponents must be hard-pressed indeed; they must be at their wits' end in their attempt to best down determined expectation. If beil is attempt to beat down determined opposition. If bail is refused it ought only to be on the ground that the prisoner cannot be trusted to come up when called upon. Even in this case the prisoner ought not to be subjected in any way to the rigours of prison treatment, but ought to be simply detained to prevent escape. As the Suffragettes have never attempted to eschoat their bail, there is no good reason at all why bail should be refused in their

Release of Miss Nellie Taylor.

Miss Nellie Taylor, sentenced to a week's imprisonment in Stafford Gaol for her protest made recently at Crewe, was released on Thursday, December 23. She had been subjected to forcible feeding, which she describes as agony. She says she cannot imagine how other prisoners have endured it for a period of months.

Mr. Gladstone's Prison Regulations.

An announcement was made a few days ago that Mr. Gladstone was introducing certain changes into the discipline of second-class prisoners. These included from bedsteads, earthenware plates, chairs with backs, and sliding window panes. Suffragettes are glad that their imprisonment has led to lightly more humane treatment for prisoners, but Mr. Gladstone must not suppose that in consequence of some slight improvements the Sufthat in consequence of some slight improvements the Suffragettes will be any the more reconciled to being treated as second class offenders. They demand treatment as political prisoners, not on account of minor creature comforts, but because it beings with it the right of intercourse with one another and with friends, and the right to see books, papers, newspapers, and to make use of writing materials, etc. This position is recognised by all civilised countries in the treatment of those who are sent to prison for political crime, and the Suffragettes, as the political prisoners of the twentieth century, are determined to uphold this right.

Russian Women as Barristers.

A correspondent writes pointing out that the decision forbidding women to plead as barristers in Russia was arrived at by the Senate, and not, as erroneously stated last week, by "a council representing the various institutions of Russian lawyers and jurists." The Senate has also ordered the Corporation of Barristers of St. Petersburg to disbar Mme. Fleishutz It remains to be seen, says our correspondent, whether the Corporation will comply with the instruction.

The Question of Motive in Law.

A case is reported in the Daily Mail of Wednesday, December 22, in which a man broke the window of a private house in order to release a dog that had been shut up there. The plea of the defendant was, that though he had committed a "tort," a civil wrong, "torts." might be committed to save property. The judge upheld this plea, instancing the action of a Cabinet Minister the previous night, who committed any number of "torts" to save property at a fire. And yet Suffragettes are told that the motive of an action cannot be taken into account by the law.

Policewemen in Stockholm

We are informed by a correspondent that for some months past a small corps of policewomen has existed in Stockholm, and that this corps is now to be considerably augmented. The work of the women consists in dealing with those of their own sex who are found drunk and disorderly, and with women on the street. The uniform of the policewomen consists of a smart helmet and neat blue tunic with top boots; they carry no weapon of defence.

Interesting Items.

Bradford on December 21 was in a state of siege, the streets being closed to the public, for fear of imaginary

The employees of Henry Williams, Limited, railway appliance works, Catheart, Glasgow, recently passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority, condemning the Government for their treatment of woman suffrage prisoners; they have sent a memorial to this effect to

One woman at any rate, Mrs. Bossic Wilson Edwards will vote at the next election, as her name has been indvertently placed on the list of Parliamentary electors

## THE WASPAUL DERCEPTON ADDRESS

#### ELECTORS OF GREAT BRITAIN!

A great principle is at stake in the coming electiona principle for which, in past centuries, much blood has been spilt and many lives have been given-the principle that taxation and representation shall go together, and that the people who have to obey the laws shall have their share in making them.

The Liberal Government, by their treatment of the women of the country, have violated this fundamental principle of our constitutional liberty, and we call upon you to vindicate the Constitution by voting against Liberal candidates in every constituency.

Women who demand the Parliamentary vote are asking only for that which is their right under the Constitution. They are asking, not that every woman shall have a vote, but that women who fulfil any of the qualifications which entitle a man to vote shall be enfranchised. If this were conceded, about 14 millions of women would be enfranchised, as compared with the 71 millions of men who are at present voters.

#### How the Liberal Government have Broken the Constitution.

This just and reasonable demand the Liberal Government have opposed. In 1906 Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said that we had an "irrefutable case," but he did not intend to do anything for us. In 1908 the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority in the House of Commons, but, owing to the opposition of the Liberal Government, it was not carried into law.

The days have gone by when women were content to take tamely and submissively this rebuff. Knowing that the Parliamentary vote is vital to secure their protection as citizens, as taxpayers, as wage-earners, as mothers, as gnardians of the home, women have rebelled against this opposition of the Liberal Government. They have sought to present petitions to the Prime Minister as men are allowed to do; they have sought to question Cabinet Ministers at their meetings, and to protest as men invariably do when they are dissatisfied. The Government have met their demands by violence.

Though by the Bill of Rights and the Statute of Charles II. the right to deliver petitions to the Prime Minister is secured, Mr. Asquith has on every occasion refused to receive any body of women for this purpose; and when the members of the Women's Social and Political Union persisted in their right they have been resisted and buffeted by the police, and finally arrested and sent to prison.

At public meetings women who protested were flung out with great violence by Liberal stewards, egged on by such utterances as "Let them be ruthlessly flung out" by Mr. Lloyd George, and latterly Cabinet Ministers have closed all their "public" meetings to women, and. fearing the consequences, have called out for their own protection vast masses of police, who have arrested women for forcibly protesting against their exclusion. These women have also been sent to prison.

The Government having put women in prison for political offences, have treated them while there as com-mon criminals. They have had them dressed in prison clothes, fed on prison food, denied intercourse with their friends, and refused the right to carry on their ordinary work. This is contrary to the treatment accorded to political offenders by every civilised country in the world.

#### Government's Assault on Suffragette Prisoners.

Suffragette prisoners, following the example of political prisoners in Russia, have now, in order to force the Government to concede them proper treatment in prison. adopted the "hunger strike." Against this protest of their political opponents the Government have chosen the cruel and disgraceful plan of feeding by force by means of tubes through the nostrils into the stomach, Of the brutality and danger of this method many doc-

Sir Victor Horsley says that apart from the brutality of the proceeding, it has the following consequences:-Pain, confession of the nose and pharynx, leading in my own hospital experience, to ulceration of the nasal mucous membrane, retching, vomiting, and depression.

I think forcible feeding is a miserable expedient of a weak minister and an outrage on a political offender. The windletiveness of magistrates and of Mr. Gladstone that has been such a feature of the treatment of female political agitators as compared to that applied to males will soon be a thing of the past, and looked back upon by our children with the pity that succeeding generations bestow upon the crude ignorance of their forefathers.

Mrs. Leigh, who was forcibly fed through the nostrile in the Birmingham prison, says :- "The sensation is most painful. The drums of the ears seem to be burst ing; there is a horrible pain in the throat and breast."

#### The Government's Defence.

This is the record of the Government during the last four years. What is their defence? It is firstly, that the violence has been on the part of the Suffragettes, and that the action of the Government has been the recogniz-consequence; secondly, that Mr. Asquith has given a satisfactory "pledge" with regard to Woman Suffrage for the next Parliament; and thirdly, that the dominant issue to-day is the veto of the House of Lords, and that such minor questions as Woman Suffrage must take a

We answer the statement that the action of the Government is merely an answer to the violence of the women by a direct negative. Physical violence was applied to omen by Liberal stewards and by the police at the instigation of the Government for three years before women adopted physical violence against the Government. In so far as women have now been driven to physical violence it is because the Government have shown that they will listen to no other argument. Their violence has been as nothing to that adopted by the Irish in the Irish agitation, and defended by the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the following words :-

Such devices cannot be reconciled with the principles of law and order in a civilised country, yet we all know that such devices are the certain results of misgovern-ment. If the methods are blameable I feel the authors are not due-tenth so blameable as the Government whose contemptuous refusals for reform are the parent and source of the mischief.

As to the second defence of the Government—that Mr. Asquith has given a satisfactory "pledge" for the future -what is this pledge? Does he promise to introduce a straightforward and simple Votes for Women Bill? No! He expressly refuses this, and on the contrary declares his intention of introducing a Bill for extending the franchise to men only. The only shadow of promise which he makes to women is as follows:-If this Electoral Reform Bill is introduced by the Government, and if a private member introduces a woman suffrage amendment to it, and if this amendment fulfils certain conditions, then the Government will not use their whips to compel members to vote against it, but will allow members to use their own discretion. A truly generous promise! We reject it as utterly worthless! We are not prepared to wait for this possible off-chance in a mythical Reform Bill! We demand that the Government shall themselves take the responsibility as they would in the case of any other reform, and shall introduce a separate Bill for removing the sex barrier, and shall not mix the question up with other controversial questions in a general Electoral Reform Bill. We have no faith in the matter being left to be decided by private members. The 420 private members pledged to our cause have broken their pledges in the old Parliament. They cannot be trusted to fulfil them in the next.

If Mr. Asquith is still in office he will continue to block the Women's Enfranchisement Bill; he will continue to refuse to receive deputations; he will continue to have women arrested, imprisoned, and assaulted while in prison. Four more years of injustice! Four more years of coercion! That is Mr. Asquith's real promise to women, and we are bent upon preventing its fulfilment.

As to the House of Lords, the Government tell you that their fight at this election is on the constitutional issue. What hypocrites they are! They claim that "Taxation with representation" is their watchword when it is a question between them and the peers, but by their every action towards women they show that they do not believe what they say.

The Government say that the Lords must not interfere with financial matters, because they do not represent the people. We say that Mr. Asquith and the House of Commons have no right to tax women, because they do not represent women. In fact, if the Lords are guilty of nnconstitutional action, the Government are still more guilty, and to the sin of disobeying the Constitution they add the further sin of hypocrisy, for with one hand they e threatening the Lords in the name of the Constitution, and with the other they are disobeying the Constitution by keeping women in political subjection.

Some Liberal candidates are appealing for the support of the electors on the ground that they are in favour of woman suffrage. Such declarations must not prevent the electors from voting against them. Liberal candidates, if returned to Parliament, become mere private soldiers in the Liberal army, and they have no power and no will to vote except as the Liberal leaders tell them. A vote for a Liberal candidate is, therefore, a vote for a Liberal Government which is opposed to woman suffrage.

#### Remember !

Women mean to go on fighting till they win.

Every vote given AGAINST the Government is a vote given for human liberty and justice to women.

Every vote given FOR a Liberal Candidate will strengthen the Government in their opposition to Votes for Women. It is a vote for forcible feeding and for the ill-treatment of women political prisoners

THEREFORE, VOTE FOR THE WOMEN AND KEEP THE LIBERAL OUT.

> EMMELINE PANKHURST. EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

## MHA5

#### Part V.—The "Spoilt Child" of the Law! By Elizabeth Robins.

Those who would like to believe that the law, or at all events its administrators, can be trusted to show that special favouritism to women we hear about-such idealists should take counsel with Mrs. A., of Chelsea. She is the wife of a mechanic. This man illtreats his wife to the extent that she goes in fear of her life. She took her little boys the other day to the police-court and applied for a separation order. The magistrate told her to "go home and do the best she could." The children who had seen the indignities and the physical danger to which their mother was subjected by their father received in the police-court a further lesson in the duties of men towards women. They heard this symbol of justice and of ultimate power, the awe-inspiring magistrate, tell tueir mother that she had not yet suffered sufficient injury at the hands of her husband for her to have earned the right to live away from him. The learned opinion was that "a man was entitled to knock his wife about a bit." Whether the magistrate was shameless enough to use those very words—as reported by the woman—or whether he merely showed her that that was his view of the husbandly prerogative, the effect upon his audience was the same. The law allowed men this privilege. Indeed, that the law should do so excited little surprise in the minds of persons belonging to a class familiarised with the petty fines imposed upon notorious wife-beaters, and the frequently proved fact that it is legally a more reprehensible act to steal a loaf to feed your starving family than to give the mother of that family a pair of black eyes. If we who have books and leisure consult the authorities we find that assault upon a wife is punishable by fine or imprisonment, yet in practice an illused woman, ignorant and unrepresented, finds magistrates in agreement to send her "home" (!) to her husband, to "do the best you can." But to be beaten without redress, or even hope of future legal protection, that is not the worst that may come of this "best" which is all the law has to offer.

Of the women who have sorry cause to know that, is the wife of a day labourer living not two miles from Westminster. Mrs. B. was another of these applicants for a separation order (since divorce is too dear a luxury for any of this class). The ground of Mrs. B.'s plea is the infidelity of her husband. "You can't get a separation order for that." "Well, but he brings the woman home—he keeps her in the house." "That is no ground." Then the magistrate is given the heart of the grievance. The husband insists on having the interloper in his wife's bedroom. No redress. Because the husband had not turned the wife out, because he professed himself willing to support her, the supplanted wife (not only ready, eager to leave him with her rival) was refused a separation order. She is coerced into accepting the degrading conditions laid down by the man inside her home, because all the men outside (represented by the magistrates) say these degrading conditions are just and legal. At every crisis in her life she finds the law invading that sphere where woman is told she reigns supreme.\*

Those legislators who propose to make it illegal for married women to work outside their homes do not even begin by doing away with the age-old legal abuses which any day may make a woman's home the worst place for her on the surface of the earth. If a woman of the kind whose story I have just told is still young enough and strong enough, just one way of escape is opened to her this side death. For that woman (and many another) there is nothing between her and moral degradation t the chance to earn her own living, and thereby the right to sleep in an undefiled bed. If this woman has a daughter or the ear of any young woman, is it to be supposed she will not urge the girl to get and to hold fast some means of livelihood other than, or in addition to, the profession of wife? If she does not, it will be because her experience has left her either brutalised or cowed.

The census of eight years ago gave the number of women working in trades for weekly wages as nearly four million. As Lady McLaren says, there is reason to suppose that this is much under the true figure, women considering it more genteel to describe themselves as unoccupied, or as married women only.

It is a proof of the mortal need women feel of economic independence that, against natural inclination and ironbound tradition, more and more women leave their homes in search of work, in spite of the stumbling-blocks placed in their way, and in spite of the unfair discrimination made aganst women's work merely because it is done by a practically slave-class.

In no department of human action have we found more plainly manifest the law that the evil growing out of injustice ultimately rebounds upon the doer—than in this of discrimination against women's work because it is not done by men. Men have lost through this discrimination far more than they could realise because the discrimination was supposed to be in their favour. To-day, though they still insist on the maintenance of the principle that women should be paid less than men for precisely the

same service, they begin to realise it does not always operate in favour of men. They are crying out, not against its injustice, but against its more palpable illeffect upon themselves. This highly significant aspect of the struggle I propose to examine next week, and to show how in practice the men's attitude has been self-

(To be continued.)

#### "WOMAN THIS, AND WOMAN THAT."

(Echo of a Barrack-room Ballad, with acknowledgments to Mr. Rudyard Kipling.)

We went up to Saint Stephens with petitions year by year; "Get out!" the politicians cried, "we want no women here!

M.P.'s behind the railings stood and laughed to see the fun, And bold policemen knocked us down, because we would not

For it's woman this, and women that, and "Woman go away!"

But it's "Share and share alike, ma'am!" when the taxes are to pay;

When the taxes are to pay, my friends, the taxes are to pay, Oh, it's "Please to pay up promptly!" when the taxes are to pay!

We went before a magistrate, who would not hear us speak, To a drunken brute who beat his wife he only gave a week; But we were sent to Holloway a calendar month or more, Because we dared, against his will, to knock at Asquith's door.

For it's woman this, and woman that, and "Woman, wait outside!"

But it's "Listen to the Ladies!" when it suits your Party's

When it suits your Party's side, my friends, when M.P.'s on the stump Are shaking in their shoes at how the cat is going to jump!

When women go to work for them the Government engage To give them lots of contract jobs at a low starvation wage, But when it's men that they employ they always add a note— "Fair wages must be paid"—because the men have got the

For it's woman this, and woman that, and "Woman, learn

But it's "Help us, of your charity!" when trouble looms

When trouble comes apace, my friends, when trouble comes Then it's "Oh, for woman's charity!" to help and save

the race!

You dress yourselves in uniforms to guard your native shores, But those who make the uniforms do work as good as yours; For the soldier bears the rifle, but the woman bears the race-And that you'd find no trifle if you had to take her place! Oh, it's woman this, and woman that, and "Woman cannot

fight!" But it's "Ministering Angel!" when the wounded come in sight;

When the wounded come in sight, my friends, the wounded come in sight,

It's a "ministering angel" then who nurses day and night!

flown !-We are only human beings, who have wants much like your

And if sometimes our conduct isn't all your fancy paints,

It wasn't man's example could have turned us into saints! For it's woman here, and woman there, and woman on the

streets. And it's how they look at women, with most men that one

With most men that one meets, my friends, with most men

It's the way they look at women that keeps women on the streets!

You talk of sanitation, and temperance, and schools, And you send your male inspectors to impose your man-made rules :

"The woman's sphere's the home," you say? Then prove it

Give us the vote that we may make the home a happier place! For it's woman this, and woman that, and "Woman, say

But it's "What's the woman up to?" when she tries to show

When she tries to show the way, my friends, when she tries to show the way-And the woman means to show it—that is why she's out to-day!

This poem has been printed as one of the election leaflets, nd can be obtained from The Woman's Press, 4, Clements nn, W.C., price ninepence a hundred, six shillings a

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# FACTS FOR THE ELECTORS.

#### Compiled by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for Yotes for Women on the same terms as they are possessed by men; that is to say, they ask that women who are owners, householders, lodgers, or university graduates shall be voters. This would give votes to about it million of women (most of whom would be working women) as compared with 7t millions of men who have the vote we are not asking for the Yote for every woman, since svery man has not got the Yote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure giving yotes to Women on these terms shall be passed before any other franchise reform is considered.

#### WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE.

Because no race or class or sex can have its interests properly safeguarded in the Legislature of a country unless it

represented by direct suffrage.

Because women, whose special care is the home, find that nestions intimately affecting the home are being settled in arliament, where they are not represented. Such questions include housing, education, the death-rate of infants, vaccination, the employment of children, sweating, the labour of married women, unemployment, the care of the aged, and many other matters.

Because great numbers of women, who have to earn their own living and often that of their children, find that the theory that woman is better off shielded and protected by man than in working out her own salvation has failed completely. Statisticians state that during the last sixty years, while the wages of men have risen considerably, wages of women have remained stationary, and in many cases even have fallen to rates which imply starvation. The more lucrative occupations are already confined to men, and laws are contemplated which shall deprive women of some of those that remain.

Because politics and economics go hand in hand, and while men voters can get their economic grievances attended to, non-voters are disregarded. Women are thus compelled to sell their labour cheap, and in consequence men are undercut in the labour market.

Because women are taxed without being represented, and taxation without representation is tyranny. They have to obey the laws equally with men, and they ought to have a voice in deciding what those laws shall be.

Because the Legislature in the past has not made laws which are equal between men and women; and these laws will not be altered till women get the vote. Moreover, it is making lawst to-day which are unequal between men and women and so long as women are without the vote it will continue to

Because all the wisest men and women realise that decisions based upon the point of view of men and women together are more valuable than those based upon either singly.

Because, so long as the majority of the women of the country have no interest in politics, the children grow up ignorant of the meaning of the struggle for freedom, and lessons learnt in one generation by bitter experience have to be relearnt by the next in the same school. .

Because, wherever women have become voters, reform has proceeded more rapidly than before, and even at home our municipal government, in which the women have a certain share, is in advance of and not behind our Parliamentary attitude on many important questions.

Because women, like men, need to have some interests outside the home, and will be better comrades to their husbands, better mothers to their children, and better housekeepers of the home when they get them.

#### WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO GET IT.

As far back as 1816 women took part with men in their agitation for the extension of the vote. And in the great demonstration in Peterloo in 1821 women suffered with men when the soldiers charged the crowd. Nevertheless the Reform Act of 1832, which so materially improved the position of the men, did nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them. From that date till this women have agitated in various constitutional ways to obtain the vote. Some of these have been :-

#### By Petitions.

Numberless petitions and memorials have been signed and have been presented to the House of Commons and to the Government. Between 1866 and 1879 there were

Over 9.000 Petitions with Three Million Signatures. in support of giving votes to women. In 1896 alone an appeal to members of Parliament was signed by

Over a Quarter of a Million Women. And since that date petitions and memorials have been

#### pouring in from all parts of the country. By Applying to be Registered as Voters.

In 1867 the wording of the Household Franchise Act was supposed by many people to allow of the enrolment of women as voters. A canvass of the women in Manchester was made, and out of 4,215 women who might be qualified 3,924, or

92 per cent., Sent in Claims.

The Court of Appeal, however, decided against the women (Chorlton v. Lings), and compelled them to make their demand again to Parliament.

#### Fifty Thousand Meetings.

Countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The Women's Social and Political Union alone have held over 50,000 meetings, indoor

"A further statement will be found in a leader, particulars of which are from on the next page.

At present a mother is not reckened a "parent" under the Veccius on Act of 1907 if her huntaged to sitte, nor would she have been ander the present all of the page of the pa

and out, during the four and a half years of their exist-ence. Of these, the great Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, June 21, 1908, when half a million people came together, was admittedly

#### The Largest Political Demonstration in the History of the World.

Other great outdoor demonstrations have been held in all the largest towns throughout the country. At some of these demonstrations it was estimated that over 100,000 persons were present. Of indoor meetings the Albert Hall, Lendon; the Free Trade Hall, Manchester; the Sun Hall, Liverpool; the Colston Hall, Bristol; the Town Hall, Birmingham; the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow; the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and all the other great halls in the country have been filled over and over again by audiences who enthusiastically supported the women's demand.

#### Over £60,000 for the Campaign.

Women at great sacrifice have contributed many thousand pounds to a campaign fund. The Women's Social and Political Union have alone raised nearly £60,000, and many thousands have been collected by other societies. A large part of this is contributed by thousands of working women, who feel keenly their need for

#### By Newspapers and Literature.

The Woman's Movement now supports three flourishing weekly newspapers, which advocate the reform, and the Woman's Press, the publishing office of the W.S.P.U., has also issued millions of pamphlets, leaflets, and other literary propaganda.

#### By Political and Municipal Work.

Women have worked hard for Liberal, Conservative, and Labour candidates, and party agents have found them exceedingly useful. They have served on boards of guardians, echool boards, parish councils, vestries, etc., and have there initiated and executed many important

#### By Pledging Parliamentary Candidates.

Women have extracted from candidates for the House of Commons, as a condition of working for them, promises of support to Woman Suffrage in Parliament. In the last House 420 members were so pledged.

#### THE MILITANT POLICY.\*

In spite of the overwhelming demand which women have shown for the possession of the Parliamentary vote, in spite of the fact that every consideration of justice points to their right to possess it, the franchise has not been conceded. Women now realise that it is no use any longer praying and pleading for the vote, but that some further step is necessary in order to obtain it. Put into plain language, the militant policy of the Women's Social and Political Union means that when people ask for a thing which is their right in a proper manner, politely and courteously, and are put off with subterfuge and pre-varication, there is nothing left but to take forcible measures deliberately designed to be disagreeable to those who withhold justice.

Who is the enemy who has blocked the progress of this reform? Not the man in the street, for he is found to be favourable when once the matter is explained to him. Not the private member of Parliament, for he is powerless to give or withhold the vote.

#### The Enemy is the Government of the Day.

The fate of a Bill in the House of Commons does not depend upon the support or opposition of individual private members, but upon the decision of the Cabinet to support or reject it. In the last House of Commons there were 420 members, or nearly two-thirds majority, pledged to support a measure for Woman Suffrage. On February 28, 1908, a Woman Suffrage Bill was carried through its second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 179 (271 to 92), but the Bill did not become law because the Liberal Government blocked its further passage through the House of Commons. Mr. Asquith and the other members of his Cabinet are still in power to-day, and they still refuse to promise to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill. So long, therefore, as they remain the Government they are the obstacle to Votes for Women.

#### How the Militant Methods Began.

Militant methods began in 1905. Sir Edward Grey was addressing a great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Two women, Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney, determined to find out what was going to be the policy of the Liberal Government towards Woman Suffrage if they were returned at the general election. Accordingly, after Sir Edward Grey's speech was over, at question time they put a question to him on this point, but, though other questions from the audience were answered, this question was ignored, and as they insisted upon receiving an answer they were taken by the stewards and throws out of the meeting, and because they held a protest meeting outside the hall, were arrested

During the four years that the Liberal Government has been in power Cabinet Ministers have persistently dealt in this way with women at their meetings. Some times the questions came at the end of the meeting; at other times, as is the custom with men hecklers, they took the form of interruptions during the speeches of the Cabinet Ministers. In almost every case the wome were thrown out with violence, until at last Cabinel Ministers decided to exclude women altogether from their meetings. When women protested against this in the streets outside the hall, great barricades were erected and a large posse of police called out to deal with the crowds that came to support the women. In consequence, many women were arrested and thrown into prison.

#### Deputations to the Prime Minister.

Women have also been arrested in large numbers for endeavouring to go in deputation to see Mr. Asquith, for though by the Bill of Rights women have a definite right to go to present their grievances to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith has invariably refused to receive them. Not only has he refused to see the militant socie ties, the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League, but he has also refused to see the "constitutional" Women Suffragists, the Women Doctors, and the Head Mistresses. The militant societies have refused to accept this rebuff, and have insisted upon their right to interview him. Against them Mr. Asquith has called out the police, and has had the deputation arrested on many separate occasions.

#### 450 Women Sent to Prison.

Altogether 450 women have been imprisoned by the Liberal Government, either for endeavouring to see Mr. Asquith or for demonstrations connected with the meetings of Cabinet Ministers.

#### **GOVERNMENT VIOLENCE TO SUFFRA-**GETTES.\*

Not content with imprisoning Suffragettes for persisting in their demand for the vote the Government have refused to treat them in prison as political offenders, and have classed them with common criminals. Mr. Gladstone, as Home Secretary, has gone back upon the words of his father, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, in this matter. In 1889 the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, referring to the Irish political prisoners, said :-

I know very well that you cannot attempt a legislative definition of political offences, but what you can do, and what always has been done, is this: you can say that in certain classes of cases the imprisened person ought not to be treated as if he had been guilty of base and degrading

In spite of this trenchant saying of his father, Mr. Herbert Gladstone has treated the Woman Suffrage prisoners as ordinary criminals, and has denied to them the privileges which in all civilised countries are accorded to those who have gone to prison for a political offence.

#### The Hunger Strike.

In June, 1909, Miss Wallace Dunlop, one of the Woman Suffrage prisoners, adopted the hunger strike with the view of calling attention to this disgraceful state of affairs. The Home Secretary refused to order that she should be treated as a political offender; but seeing that she would persist until she died of starvation, and fearing an outbreak of popular indignation against himself, ordered her release, after ninety-one hours' starvation. Many other Woman Suffrage prisoners followed her example, and with heroic endurance went without food for four, five, and six days as a protest against their treatment, but the Home Secretary still denied them justice, and in the end released them from prison.

#### Forcible Feeding.

Then in September, 1909, Mr. Gladstone, in the vain hope of breaking the spirit and resistance of the women who were his political opponents, determined to employ against them the inhuman practice of forcible feeding by means of a tube passed through the nostrils into the stomach. Since then this operation has been carried out daily in the different prisons of the country on the bodies of women political prisoners. Mrs. Leigh, who suffered it for one month in Birmingham Gaol, says of it: "The sensation is most painful. The drums of the ears seem to be bursting; there is a horrible pain in the throat and

Sir Victor Horsley says that, apart from the brutality of the proceeding, it has the following consequences:-Pain, confession of the nose and pharynx, leading, in my own hospital experience, to ulceration of the nasal mucous membrane, retching, vomiting, and depression.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin, M.D., says :-It is absolutely inhuman and unjustifiable.

Mr. Hugh Fenton, M.D., says:—

In addition to these doctors over one hundred other dical practitioners have petitioned the Government to abandon this disgraceful procedure. In spite of this terrible medical indictment, however, the Government have still continued to adopt it rather than treat their women political opponents as political offenders are treated in every civilised country in the world.

#### MR. ASQUITH AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.\*

Mr. Asquith is an involvente opponent of Vol Women. He has many times actively opposed Mr. Asquith is an invete

reform, the latest occasion being in February, 1908, when he voted against the second reading of the Weman's Enfranchisement Bill.

Mr. Asquith's Pledge.

In May, 1908, Mr. Asquish was asked by a deputation of members of the House of Commons to give an opportunity for the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill to pass through its further stage during that session of Parlia-ment. Mr. Asquith refused. He then went on to say that it was his hope and intention before the dissolution of Parliament to introduce on behalf of the Government an Electoral Reform Bill; this Bill would not include the enfranchisement of women. He said, however, that it would be open to a private member of Parliament to propose to this Bill a Woman Suffrage Amendment.

# Opposition of the Government Unless Two Conditions Fulfilled.

He then went to speak of the attitude of the Government towards this amendment if it were introduced, and said that the Government would oppose it as a Government unless two conditions were fulfilled. The first condition was that Mr. Asquith should be satisfied that the majority of men and the overwhelming majority of women of the country were in favour of this reform, and the second that the amendment must be on democratic lines

# In No Case Would the Government Support It.

Even assuming both these conditions satisfied the Government would not support the amendment; they would merely not exert their influence to have the amendment defeated; they would leave private members free to vote upon it as they liked. Militant Suffragists at once rejected this proposal. For one reason, they thought it very likely the Electaral Reform Bill would never be introduced before the dissolution, and, as a matter of fact, they have proved correct.

# Mr. Asquith's "Renewed Pledge."

In view of the General Election of 1910 Mr. Asquith has renewed this so-called pledge; in other words, he says that if he is retained in office, and if the Government introduce an Electoral Reform Bill, there will be the same opportunity for a private member to move a Woman Suffrage amendment, and the Government will take the same line on the question. Militant Suffragists regard this declaration as one of definite hostility to Votes for Women. They see, firstly, that Mr. Asquith still refuses to pledge the Government to the introduction of a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. Secondly, that he makes the discussion of the question contingent upon the introduction of an Electoral Reform Bill, which may or may not ever be introduced. Thirdly, that Mr. Asquith says that if an Electoral Reform Bill is introduced at all it will be a Bill for extending the franchise to men only, and that Woman Suffrage can only be introduced by a private member's amendment.

Woman Suffragists say, firstly, that Woman Suffrage ought to be the subject of a separate and distinct measure introduced during the first session of the new Parliament before the question of general Electoral Reform is coneidered. They say, secondly, that this proposal ought to be dealt with by the Government itself instead of being left to the initiative of private members. On the direct issue of the removal of the sex disqualification they are confident of a majority in the new House of Commons as there was in the last, but an amendment to an Electoral Reform Bill worded by the Liberals is likely to be opposed by all Conservative M.P.'s as well as by those Liberals who are against Woman Suffrage. They regard Mr. Asquith's "pledge," therefore, as a piece of strategy to ensure their defeat.

# FIGHT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

In consequence of the hostility of the Liberal Government which is now in power and will remain ess Liberal candidates are defeated at the polls, the Women's Social and Political Union are fighting againstit at the General Election. They are fighting against it because this Government has refused to do them justice during the four years in which it has been in office, and because it refuses to promise to do justice in the future it it is retained in power.

#### Oppose Liberal Candidates.

This policy of the Women's Social and Political Union of fighting against the Government involves opposition to Liberal candidates throughout the length and breadth of the country. The Women's Social and Political Union are not concerned with the private views of individual

No matter whether the Liberal candidate says that he is favourable to Woman Suffrage, or even whether he says he is prepared to give his support to a Woman Suffrage measure in the House of Commons, he will still be opposed by the women at the election. People who do not understand politics sometimes suggest that this action of the W.S.P.U. is unfair. They say so because they consider that a man ought to be judged by his own personal views, and not by those of his party. They do not realise that when a man goes down to a constituency as a Liberal nominee he has already abrogated his peras a liberal nominee he has already abrogated his personal standpoint and accepted the standpoint of the Liberal Party. He is like a soldier going into battle under a certain flag; by that flag he must stand or fall, and he cannot plead immunity from attack on the ground that he does not approve of the war in which he is fighting. A Liberal candidate has already ranged himself on

the side of the Liberal Government by acceptance of party support, and he must expect to gain by the merits and suffer for the demerits of that Government. So long as he elects to serve under the Liberal flag he cannot escape the edium which attaches to the Government on account of their treatment of women.

Independent of Party.

Independent of Party.

Women Suffragists stand quite independent of any party. They are fighting against the Government not because it is Liberal, but because it refuses to carry out Liberal principles by giving them the vote. If a Tory Government were in power, and refused to deal with the question, women would be fighting against the Tory candidate in this election. If women do not succeed in getting votes from the present Liberal Government, and the Conservatives come into power, the women will fight against them if they will not give them the vote. Liberals are anxious that their party shall be the one to carry this great measure of reform, but the Liberal Government will not move in the matter unless their followers in the country insist upon it.

The only way in which the Liberal electors can make their leaders act is by rejecting their nomines, thus showing them that their present policy must be changed.

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of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

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# TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Treasurer feels very proud that even during Christmas week the contributions to the Campaign Fund have filled out a whole column.

Will every member of the Union and every reader of the paper who has not yet sent a special Christmas or New Year's gift to the General Election Campaign Fund make a point of sending it next week? We want the many small sums quite as much as the comparatively few large sums that can be given. We have still £2,000 to raise before we have achieved the £5,000 Fund which we shall require for the General Election

require for the General Election.

The terrible tale of cruelty practised during the past week upon our brave and devoted comrades in Liverpool rends our hearts and stirs deepest emotions of admiration, reverence, and gratitude. The only way to right this shameful wrong is to break the power of tyranny by destroying the Liberal majority. We are lighting constituencies in Liverpool where the present majority is small. Let everybody work and pay. For the sake of those who give all—ALL!

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#### BOOK OF THE WEEK. A Warrior Woman.

History is full of examples of women whose lives refute the foolish argument that women cannot fight, and it is a curious fact that such women are not, as might be expected, rough or masculine in their character and appearance, but are often the most womanly of their time. We have only to think of Joan of Arc as a typical example of the gentle yet courageous warrior maiden. The life of another of these women has just been written by Nora Duff, and is published by Methuen and Co. ("Matilda of Tuscany," price 10s. 6d. net).

Matilda of Tuscany, who was born in the eleventh century, was the sole heiress of the house of Canossa. The daughter of the Marquis Boniface, she was born into troublous times, and her life was one of continuous battle in support of the Roman Church against the Monarchy. We read of her that "At an early age she was eager to learn knightly accomplishments. 'Disdaining with a virile spirit the art of Arachne, she seized the spear of Pallas,' remarks Vedriani. Under the able tuition of Arduino della Palude, who afterwards became the general of her army, she learnt how to ride like a lancer, spear in hand, to bear a pike as a foot-soldier, and how to wield both battle-axe and sword. As she grew up, tall and slender, yet agile and strong, she accustomed herself to wear a cuirass of steel."

Matilda was married at the early age of thirteen to Godfrey the Hunchback, son of the Duke of Lorraine, but as her husband differed from her on the question most vital to her, that of religion, the marriage was not a happy one. Godfrey was murdered in 1076, and for many years Matilda was head of the house, ruled like a queen over her vassals, and led her army again and again to victory. Her position, the author tells us, was as follows:

From henceforth Matilda stood alone in the world; no human bonds or earthly affections prevented her from giving her whole life undivided and unstintingly to the Church. Her position at this time must have been unique in the history of Italy, unique in the history of the world. A woman, still comparatively young, in the zenith of her beauty and power, under tutelage to no male relation, absolutely free, in fact, in a manner unprecedented in her epoch, with unbounded riches, unnumbered vassals at her command, and nearly the half of Italy under her sway. On the one hand, she had re-ceived the training of a warrior; on the other, there had been the strict discipline imposed on her by the Church.

Much of this interesting record of her life is taken up by an account of her battles. In 1083 we read that on a very dark night, with a small company of her bravest men, she surrounded the Royal forces and defeated them. It is interesting to note in passing that one of the suitors for her hand during her widowhood was Robert of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror. Had she given a favourable answer it is probable that the Conqueror would have been reconciled to his son, and English history might have been written otherwise. Matilda, however, refused his plea, and was soon again engaged in fighting for the Church she loved. At the head of a splendid army she went to Rome and succeeded in dispersing the Royal forces, thus strengthening the position of the Pope. Such, indeed, was her devotion to the Church that it was purely to please Pope Urbane that she consented to a second marriage in 1089 with the Marquis Guelf of Este. The authoress says :-

We can so well understand that except for political reasons the alliance must have been utterly distasteful to her. Up to this moment she had evinced a dislike to the idea of a second husband, and had refused the hand of many a princely aspirant. She was a woman too strong in herself, differing too much in her upbringing from the women of her age, to accept the common idea of the absolute need of a protector; and since the termination of Godfrey il Gobbo's most unhappy relations with herself, she had stood alone, and been content so to stand. She had had no one in all these years to share her arduous tasks of governing and of fighting, and she had grown to depend upon herself alone.

Her second marriage, as was to be expected, was no happier than her first, and in 1095 she separated from her young, tactless, and rather interfering husband. "She had too much virility to tolerate a weak man who possessed no strength of purpose. She had been accustomed all her life to act decisively, and so she acted now. Let those who would blame her remember that it was only natural and human that she should have 'les défauts de ses qualités."

Not all her life, however, was taken up with fighting. She was a generous benefactor to the poor, and interested in all arts and sciences. A few years later we find her founding and endowing a great school of jurisprudence at Bologna. The study of law had a special fascination for her, for as a great feudal ruler one of her duties was to preside at the courts of law and pronounce judgment.

The call to battle came again and again, however, and even when she was old and ill the news came of another uprising, which woke the war spirit within her, and she uprising, which woke the war spirit within her, and she insisted on personally commanding her troops. Her death, like her life, was full of courage and dignity, and as she lay ill she gave instructions that after her death all her serfs should be liberated. "So there passed from this life one of the greatest and noblest spirits the world has ever known. Well may Domnizo's lament have resounded throughout the length and breadth of Italy—have echoed the feelings of those 'who loved righteousness and hated iniquity.'" Says the authoress in the introduction:—
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#### THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

The Magic Wand.

"The wand passeth."

"Let it pess." "The wand resteth. . .

A group of Christmas guests, gay and laughing, were gathered together in the wainscoted hall where the Yule log blazed in the wide chimney. The game was "The Magic Wand." The players sat in a circle, while one stood in the centre of the ring waving the wand, and another, after pausing for a last look round the room, went outside and closed the door.

Then the following dialogue took place between the player in the centre of the ring and the one outside the door :-

"The wand passeth:"

"Let it pass."

"The wand passeth."

"Let it pass."

"The wand resteth. - . ."

And then, being in the secret, the player outside the door shouted the name of the person over whose head the wand stopped.

Some of the players were quick to unravel the mystery of the secret code between the player inside the room and the one outside; others, less observant, sat watching while the process was repeated again and again, seeing and hearing nothing to explain the mystery.

And the Looker-on, who proverbially sees most of the game, interested herself in the various players on whom the wand fell. There was the woman who had worked her way to the top of her profession, and was recognised as one of the cleverest of the younger generation of writers, and the sweet-faced widow lady with the serene face and the soft white cap. And there was a schoolgirl with laughing eyes and merry face, and a middle-aged man, and a boy, and each new recruit to the ranks of those who understood the mystic sign was greeted with shouts of laughter, and the laughter spurred on the rest to fresh cudgelling of the brains in the effort to solve the mystery.

The game ended and the party broke up. And the Looker-on dreamed that night of a great circle of human souls—a "Rose of Souls"—and one with a wand stood in the centre and cried "The wand passeth—the wand passeth." And a voice answered, "Let it pass." And again the one in the centre cried "The wand resteth," and the voice answered, "It resteth on this one and that one," and each one on whom the wand rested sprang up and gathered round the one in the centre, and each was given a wand.

And then the Looker-on saw a strange thing, for each one of those on whom the wand had rested became the centre of a new Rose of Souls, and they waved their wands and said, "The wand passeth—the wand resteth," and ever more and more sprang up, touched by the wands, and made new circles. .

And he looked further, and lo, the circles became each an army, and they joined with the first circle, until a great multitude followed the one who had first waved the wand.

And she looked further, and lo, the circles became each were marching, and it was a great conflict that lay before heads were called "Prejudice," and "Mistrust," and 'Indifference," and "Tyranny," and "Greed of Power." And the army that went against the monster was armed with the sword of "Justice," and the shield of "Courage," and the buckler of "Loyalty."

And ever more and more sprang up . . . until the army was recruited from all the countries of the world.

And the magic wand is still passing and resting, and those who wave it cry:

"The wand passeth."

And the voices of careless ones answer: "Let it pass."

And they ery:

"The wand resteth. . . ." And all upon whom the wand rests spring up and join the great army and go forth to the battle. And the cause for which they fight is the greatest that the world has

ever seen, for it is the cause of Justice and Right. And as in the Christmas game some were observant

enough to discover what was the secret sign that passed between the player with the wand and the player outside the door, while some were too stupid and unimaginative to guess it, so in the dream there were those who went through life without discovering why those upon whom the wand rested sprang up and went forth to fight the many-headed monster,

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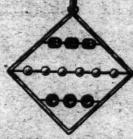
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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1909.

#### THE YEAR 1909.

To-morrow we shall welcome in the New Year with all its tremendous hopes and possibilities. To-day, while the old year is still with us, we can turn over its pages and read once again the story of its battles, rejoice in its triumphs and realise the advance which has been effected.

In this great Cause of the emancipation of woman-hood so near to all our hearts how crowded with events this year has been! How unselfishly, how gloriously, women have worked for the freedom of their sex! With what heroic courage have they met the forces arrayed against them! During this year 170 women have faced imprisonment for the Cause, many of them undergoing without flinching the horrors of the hunger-strike and of being forcibly fed.

During 1909 three deputations of members of the Women's Social and Political Union have gone to the House of Commons to see the Prime Minister. The first of these, on February 24, was led by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. She and the twenty-seven women with her declined to accept Mr. Asquith's curt refusal of an interview, and persisted in their demand to see him. In consequence she was sent to prison for two months and the others for six weeks and a month. A similar fate met the twenty members of the deputation from Lancashire on March 29 and 80, among whom was Miss Patricia Woodlock, who, accused merely of a technical offence, was sent to prison for three months and served her sentence to the end. On June 29 Mrs. Pankhurst and 107 other women went in deputations to the Prime Minister to present a petition to him. Once more he arbitrarily refused to receive women, though he received frequent deputations of men on other questions. The women pressed forward and were all arrested. Of their number fourteen marked their indignation against the sentence imposed on Patricia Woodlock by throwing stones through the windows of the Government buildings. They were sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The remaining ninety-four pleaded the right of the subject to petition the Prime Minister, and their cases were suspended until a point of law had been heard in the High Court. In the end the Lord Chief Justice gave judgment against the women, practically tearing up the Bill of Rights by saying that though a right to petition existed, Mr. Asquith was not obliged to receive the petitioners.

Deprived of an audience with the Prime Minister in the House of Commons, women have endeavoured to be present at meetings of Cabinet Ministers in different parts of the country, and when they have been forcibly excluded they have led the crowds outside the buildings in protest. At Birmingham, on the occasion of Mr. Asquith's visit to the Bingley Hall, the police erected great barricades in different parts of the city, and Mr. Asquith was driven underground in his attempt to avoid meeting the Suffragettes. In the end nine women were arrested. Similar scenes have been enacted in other places on the occasion of the visits of Cabinet Ministers, and women who took part, to the number of over a hundred, have been arrested and thrown into prison.

In prison women have been subjected to treatment as ordinary criminals instead of that allotted to political offenders in all civilised countries. Previous to July last their protest against this treatment was confined to a remonstrance addressed to the powers that be, but in July Miss Wallace Dunlop determined to adopt the hunger strike, and her example has been followed by all the Suffrage prisoners since then. The Government have met this heroic protest by the barbarous practice of forcible feeding which has been condemned by many of the most eminent medical men in the country.

Women have also made sacrifices in many other ways in order to win the vote for their sex. By their efforts the Campaign Fund of the W.S.P.U., which stood at £26,000 at the end of 1908, has been more than doubled during the year, being raised to close on £60,000. A special feature of the year has been the great Exhibition held in May at the Prince's Skating Rink, which illustrated the artistic genius of the members of the Union, and added a sum of £5,000 to its coffers.

The number of public meetings held in support of Suffrage has been so great as to be only capable of rough computation. It cannot be far short of twenty thousand. Of these many have been held in the largest halls of the country. In London enthusiastic meetings have been held by the W.S.P.U. three times in the great Albert Hall, more than forty times in the Queen's Hall, and more than forty times in the St. James's Hall. Several times in the year great audiences supporting Votes for Women have filled the Colston Hall, Bristol, the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Sun Hall; Liverpool, the Town Halls in Birmingham, Nottingham, &c., the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, and many other great halls throughout the country.

At the by-elections the Women's Social and Political Union has thrown its influence against the Liberal candidates as nominees of the Liberal Government. In consequence they have brought about the loss of a seat to the Government in Glasgow, Sheffield, Stratford-on-Avon, and Bermondsey, while they have severely shaken the Liberal majority in Cleveland and several other places.

This paper has seen remarkable developments during the year. At the end of 1908 it was still only eight months old as a weekly paper and consisted of only sixteen small pages. At the beginning of the year it was handed over by my wife and myself, who had founded it, to the Union; and in February it was increased to twenty-four pages and in June to thirty-two pages. Meanwhile the circulation rose from 15,000 to over 30,000 weekly. In October it was enlarged to its present form, and is steadily increasing in influence and circulation.

While the Women's Social and Political Union has been growing in this way other Woman Suffrage societies have also been extending their organisation. Two other weekly newspapers have been started in support of the Cause, a successful international conference has been held, and means have been taken of directing attention to the obstinate and wanton refusal of Mr. Asquith to receive deputations from militant and non-militant Suffrage societies alike.

In Parliament the principal events of the year relating to Woman Suffrage have been the introduction of the abortive Bill for Adult Suffrage by Mr. Geoffrey Howard in the vain hope of side-tracking the women's demand, and the ludicrous failure of the Government to secure the passage of a Brawling Bill, directed against the Suffragettes, through the House of Commons.

Much more might be told of the wonderful progress of the year, but there is no need to linger further on retrospect. The faces of the great army of women are not turned backwards but forwards. Every day the Past, with its record of sex suppression, is receding from our sight. The Future, which bears within its womb the freedom of the race, is hurrying on. To this Future we turn with hope and assurance.

March on! March on! Face to the Dawn, The Dawn of Liberty.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence,

## POINTS FOR SPEAKERS.

#### By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

At the General Election of 1906 the Women's Social and Political Union opposed the Liberal Government. At the General Election of 1910 we are to oppose the Liberal Government again. In 1906 our opposition was based on the fact that, although they gave promises of justice and reform for men, they refused any promise of enfranchisement for women, and backed up this refusal by methods of violence. The same reason prompts our opposition to the Liberal Government to-day. Indeed, our case is far stronger than at the last General Election. We then anticipated that the Government would make an obstinate and perhaps violent resistance to our demand. During the past four years that anticipation has been more than fulfilled, and the Government have been guilty of injustice and repression which would have seemed incredible beforehand. Moreover, the Government show no sign of contrition or of amendment. It is only too evident that they intend, if the General Election leaves them in possession of their majority, to continue to use this weapon against women. Therefore, like any other lawless bully, they must be disarmed.

#### The Government Still in Office.

Because Parliament is to be dissolved it must not be thought that there is no longer a Government to be opposed. The Government have not resigned—they are still in office, and will remain in office during the next Parliament unless at the General Election the voters deprive them of their present majority in the House of Commons. The Government have decided upon the dissolution of Parliament in order that they may ask the electors to renew the lease of power granted to them in 1906. A close parallel to the present situation is afforded by the General Election of 1900, when Mr. Balfour's administration asked the country to endorse their policy and to authorise its continuance. The question for the electors in 1900 was, "Do you approve of the Government's action in regard to South African and other matters, and do you wish to leave in their hands the power with which you entrusted them five years ago?" To-day the question for the electors is, "Do you approve the present action of Mr. Asquith, including his disfranchisement of women and his ill usage of his political opponents? Are you prepared to leave him in possession of the power to continue this unconstitutional action?"

#### The Result of the Election.

If the Government were to retain their majority at the General Election the conclusion they would draw would be that their opposition to Woman's Suffrage and their coercive methods had not impaired their popularity. If, on the other hand, the electors give them notice to quit, they will understand that they have alienated a large body of electors. If all those who vote for the women against the Government will make this fact known in the proper quarter, Mr. Asquith will be assisted in arriving at the conclusion that Woman's Suffrage is a question ripe for solution.

#### What About the Tories?

The logic of the policy of opposing the Government is quite unaffected by the fact that the Unionist leader's recent manifesto contains no mention of Woman's Suffrage. That Mr. Balfour, the aspirant to office, does not promise votes to women is no reason why Mr. Asquith, the holder of office, should go unpunished for his four years of ill-doing, and should be allowed to continue his reign of injustice. Mr. Asquith is, judged by performance, the greater sinner, for he has actively and violently resisted the unprecedented demand for Woman Suffrage which has existed during the past four years. But, apart from this, it would be the height of political folly to let Mr. Asquith escape punishment because we are not satisfied with Mr. Balfour's manifesto. If we were to allow the misdeeds of one political leader to cancel the misdeeds of the other, we should be actually inviting Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour to enter into an agreement not to deal with Woman's Suffrage, for, knowing that so long as both were hostile to Woman's Suffrage, we should remain neutral, and neither would gain at the expense of the other, the two party leaders would be strongly tempted to adopt this means of keeping Woman Suffrage outside the realm of practical politics. The aim of all men and women to whom women's enfranchisement is the first political consideration should be to turn the political scale to one side or the other as the interests of this cause may dictate. The present duty of Suffragists as a whole is to do all in their power to make it impossible for Mr. Asquith to retain office except upon the terms of granting votes to women, for it is only when Mr. Asquith sees that Woman's Suffrage is the price of office that he will withdraw his opposition to this reform.

#### The Irish Parallel.

At the General Election of 1885 the Irish party were in a position not unlike that occupied by the Suffragists of to-day. Neither Liberal nor Conservative leader would promise Home Rule. How, then, was the Irish vote to be given? The bold and effective policy was adopted of voting against every Liberal candidate, irrespective of his personal convictions on the subject of Home Rule. As a result the Liberals returned to office entirely dependent upon the Irish members. In fact, Mr. Gladstone could only hold office on condition that he introduced a measure of Home Rule. Had the Irish voters supported the Liberal party at the election Mr. Gladstone would have been independent of the Irish members, and a Home Rule Bill would never have been introduced.

Mr. Asquith is now trying, on the strength of the cry against the House of Lords, to sweep the country and thus to hold his present great majority in the House of Commons. Contempt for his hypocrisy in using as his watchword the Constitution which he has persistently violated should make every Suffragist oppose the Government, quite apart from the practical importance of depriving the enemy of his power to wound.

#### Not a Party Question.

Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour have declared that as their respective parties are divided on Woman's Suffrage it cannot be made a party question. This is, of course, equivalent to saying that it suits the politicians to leave this question on the shelf—to keep it outside the realm of practical politics. The sooner Woman's Suffrage becomes a party question the better, for, as everyone knows, it is most exceptional for important measures to become law except by passing through the mill of party politics. No franchise Act, at any rate, has ever escaped this process. Therefore Suffragists are much better employed in goading one of the political parties into taking up Votes for Women, than in converting individual members of Parliament, irrespective of party, into a belief in that reform. Experience shows that the personal views of politicians, even of front bench politicians, are a factor of minor importance. Indeed, the action of statesmen is ultimately dictated, not by their own personal wishes and views, but by a force greater than themselves. If that force drives them in a direction contrary to their own opinions they either resign their position or abandon those opinions. Modern history affords instances in plenty of the conversion of political leaders to new opinions. Thus Peel was converted by pressure to Catholic Emancipation and to Free Trade. Disraeli was similarly converted to Franchise Reform. Mr. Asquith is being converted by pressure from the Labour party to industrial and financial measures of a kind which would not at one time have commanded his approval. In the same fashion-by means, that is, of sheer pressure—he must be converted to Woman Suffrage. Prove to Mr. Asquith and his Ministerial colleagues that their party interests will suffer by withholding Woman Suffrage and you present to them a most excellent and, from their point of view, the only reason why Woman's Suffrage should be included in the official Liberal programme. What will the Unionist leader do when this question is so included? He may decide to descend on the opposite side of the fence and to oppose Woman's Suffrage. Then this cause, in common with many another successful cause, will become food for party quarrel, and in exchange for the stagnation of almost universal, but empty, sympathy we should have the wholesome conflict which is the stage through which most measures have to pass before becoming law. But in all probability this stage will be omitted, because when the boycott has been broken down and one of the political parties has made this question its own, no other party will venture to oppose so popular a reform as Votes

#### John Bright on How to Deal with a Sham Liberal Government.

"I hope every Liberal constituency will so act through its representatives as to make a sham Liberal Government henceforth impossible. For what can be more degrading to a Liberal member of the House of Commons than to sit as a supporter of an administration which repudiates and has betrayed the first and greatest question or cause upon which the whole of the policy of the Liberal Party is founded?"—September 10, 1865.

#### Sir William Harcourt on Militant Methods.

"In judging the system of Government, we know no test by which to distinguish good Government from bad, except this: that good Government is Government which is conducted and founded upon the assent and consent of the governed. If a Government is alien to the sympathies, the wishes, and the wants of a people, that Government breeds discontent, and of that discontent there is inevitably born illegal conduct and illegitimate proceedings. . . If I have read history aright, when the English people did not have a form of Government which suited them, they did a great many very irregular things, from the time of Charles I. down to the present day. . I should like to hear the legal argument by which my right honourable and learned friend would defend certain proceedings in Westminster Hall and at the Banqueting Chamber at Whitehall.

# The Law May be Broken to Avenge an Insult.

Quite recently Daniel Collins, an old soldier, was charged before Mr. Gillespie, the West Ham magistrate, with having used insulting behaviour. Collins confessed that he knocked a man down because he spoke disrespectfully of the King. He was discharged. A lady, hearing this, wrote to Mr. Gillespie, the magistrate, to say that, whatever the legal aspect of the case was, the man had a very excusable reason for breaking the law. She desired the magistrate to present him with a postal order for 20s. This, said the magistrate, he had great pleasure in doing, and he added that in view of the insult to the King, Collins had been justified in breaking the law. If that is so, Suffragettes desire to be informed why Theresa Garnett, who tried to avenge the insult and degradation which the Government have put upon her countrywomen, was imprisoned for her attack upon a member of the Cabinet.

#### The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone on the Treatment of Political Prisoners.

"What does the ordinary sentence of imprisonment import? The deprivation of literature and visitors . ... . the plank bed, the prison dress, the odious and disgraceful incident of the company of felons. There is the business of the cleansing of the cell. . . . But, Sir, I say, that if sensitiveness to indignities of this kind may be a matter on which men will differ according to their temperament and their ideas; yet such sensitiveness is a sensitiveness rather to be encouraged than to be repressed, for it appertains to that lofty sentiment—that spirit which was described by Burke when he said, 'The spirit which feels a stain like a wound.' . . . We condemn this prison treatment in the mass-we condemn it in the gross. We want to carry the issue to the country. . . A prison is becoming under the rule of the present Government a temple of honour."

#### Lloyd George on Militant Methods.

With the alteration of a word, Mr. Lloyd George's reference to militancy in a recent speech at Carnarvon constitutes an admirable defence of the militant methods of the W.S.P.U.

"The [women] have shown unutterable patience for years, patience that has degenerated nearly into pusillanimity in regard to this state of things. This is the time for them to strike, and they have done it. . . . . These schemes for the betterment of the people—they shall get them some day. They cannot get them without effort, and they will not be worth getting without effort. Freedom does not descend like manna from heaven. It has been won step by step, by tramping the wilderness, fighting enemies, crossing Jordan, and clearing the Jebusites out of the land. I do not regret that they cannot obtain these blessings except by fighting. The common people have taken no step that was worth taking without effort, sacrifice, and suffering. I cannot pretend to regret this conflict with which they are now confronted. It is well that democracies should now and again engage in these great struggles for a wider freedom and higher life. They represent stages in the advance of the people from the bondage of the past to the blessings of the future. Those who dread these political convulsions, who apprehend from them nothing but destruction and danger, have read their history in vain. The race has nothing to fear except from stagnation."

#### Lord Crewe on the Issue.

Suffragists could not wish for a better definition of the issue between themselves and the Government than that contained in the following words used by Lord Crewe in the course of a speech delivered on December 9 at Crewe. "We are engaged, through no fault of our own, in a constitutional struggle, the full meaning and magnitude of which will be more easily apprehended by historians of the future than by many of those who are now taking part in it. When it is made clear that what is at stake is the right of the British people to govern themselves through their elected representatives, there can and will be but one issue to the fight."

#### The "Daily News" on the Supreme Importance of Political Liberty.

"Free Trade is a great matter; the war on slums and on the chaos of our social life is a great matter. Just finance is a great matter, but greater than all these is liberty."

#### W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

An enormous number of meetings are being held all over the country in connection with the General Election Campaign.

Particulars will be found on p. 220.

#### Election Literature.

Very attractive special literature has been prepared for distribution and sale during the General Election, and members are invited to write to Clements Inn for supplies of posters, pamphlets, leaflets, postcards, badges, etc. A detailed list of these will be found on page 213. Special attention is drawn to the election posters-viz., reproductions of the famous cartoon "The Right Dishonourable Double-Face Asquith," printed in the colours of the Union. They are in three sizes, suitable for hoardings, palings, and windows. In addition, a window poster of a Suffragette enduring the horrors of forcible feeding has been prepared in the colours. A list of pamphlets specially recommended for election purposes will also be found on page 213. All election workers should send for a copy of the Election Address and special leaflets. The poem printed in this issue on page 211, " Woman This and Woman That," is being reprinted as a leastet. To the already large selection of picture postcards there have recently been added portraits of Mrs. Leigh and of Miss C. A. L. Marsh, as well as a reproduction of the Double-Face Asquith earteon. New badges include photo-buttons of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Orders should be sent to the Election Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### At the Fighting Line.

Miss Lilian Norbury, sentenced at Birkenhead on December 21 to fourteen days' hard labour for her protest on the occasion of the Prime Minister's visit, will be released on Tuesday, January 4.

Nurse Bryant, who has been spending Christmas in prison, will be released noxt Wednesday, January 5, after one month's imprisonment in connection with her protest at Haslingden.

#### Free Meetings in London.

After a brief holiday workers will be thinking of the part they are going to take in the coming General Election, and it is hoped that there will be a large rally of members and friends at the first Monday free meeting after Christmas, next Monday afternoon, in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, when Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be the speakers. After this the meetings will be held every Monday afternoon from 3 to 5 p.m. in the Queen's Hall, as before. The Thursday evening free meetings have already commenced after the holidays. These take place from 8 to 10 every Thursday evening in St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street.

#### WOMEN'S FREEDOM.

Man willingly served man, a helpless alave
Of strength and circumstance, he spent his toil
That he might live, while others seized the spoil,
Till time and thought a share of freedom gave.
Forgetful of his past, the selfish knave
Belies the freedom sworn of British soil,
Keeps women slaves, and still contrives to foil
Their strife to break the fetters that deprave.

Blind wrong! Who dreams of nobleness of race
While they, our mothers bend obedient knees
To whatsoe'er their lords and tyrants please,
Content to be sweet ornaments to grace
A sumptuous hall, or fill a servant's place?
Lurks greatness in the seed of such as these?

CYBIL YALDWYN.

#### SOME EXTRACTS.

Our strength grows out of our weakness. The indignation which arms itself with secret forces does not awaken until we are pricked and stung and sorely acsailed. A great man is always willing to be little. Whilst he sits on the cusbion of advantages he goes to sleep. When he is pushed, tormented, defeated, he has a chance to learn something; he has been put on his wits, on his manhood; he has gained facts; learns his ignorance; is cured of the insanity of conceit; has got moderation and real skill.

Blame is safer than praise. I hate to be defended in a newspaper. As long as all that is said is said against me I feel a certain assurance of success.

The history of persecution is a history of endeavours to cheat nature, to make water run uphill, to twist a rope of sand. It makes no difference whether the actors be many or one, a tyrant or a mob. . . The inviolate spirit turns their spite against the wrongdoer. The martyr cannot be dishonoured. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame, every prison a more illustrious abode. . . . Hours of sanity and consideration are always arriving to communities, as to individuals, when the truth is seen and the martyrs are justified.

—Emercon on "Compensation."

The cowardly, the sluggish, the orudent, could hold aloof, and would be serving those actually in power by holding aloof. None would take part in these desperate enterprises but the brave and zealous, who were prepared to risk everything in the cause of freedom. And they had to take the risk when the odds, if not of actual numbers, at least of discipline and regular command, were all on the other side.

—Freeman's "Norman Conquest."

# Monday-

# The SALE of LONDON at Peter Robinson's

OXFORD STREET.

The most looked forward to of any After-Season Sale. The welcome half-yearly opportunity for ladies to buy high-class goods at the price usually given for "cheap" articles.



# Blouse Bargains.

The Blouse Department fairly teems with bargains. The newest and prettiest of the season's styles are here—in varieties almost without end—every one of them having undergone drastic price reduction. There are many, many splendid bargains to be had. As instances we illustrate two of them:—

This illustration represents rare value in a Jap Silk Shirt. It is made with three wide tucks each side of the Boxpleated Front, and is fitted with new Soft Silk Collar which fastens in front. Sale price

8/6
The "Asset" Knitted Tie, obtainable in about 24 lovely shades.
102d. each.

A very stylish Lace and tucked Net **Blouse** of good value. It is fitted with a finely tucked Yoke, which is finished at bottom with a pretty Guipure Motif, as illustrated. In Ivory and Paris shades. **Sale price** 

9/11



# Astonishing Values in HOSIERY

200 dozen Morley's English Liale Thread Hose, with openwork fronts, obtainable is 3 shades of Tan. Extraordensity value. Usual price 1/114: Sale price 2/-

200 dozen Winter weight Plain Black Cashmere Hose, with Extra Spliced Heels and Toes. Very Special Value. Usual price 1/9; per pair; Sale price 3 for 3/8

120 dozen Moriey's Black Chishmere Mose, with Embroidered fronts. Very next Pin Spot designs. Usual price 1/11; Sale price 1/3;

180 dozen Motley's New Vertical Stripe Lini Thread Hom, in Black, Purple, Tan, an Green grounds, with White and selectro Stripes. Usual price 2/11; Sale price 1/111



# BARGAINS IN SLUMBER-WEAR.

Here is extraordinary value in dainty Nightgowns—one example taken from a large assortment of dainty slumber-wear priced at 6/11. It is a charming style—composed of French cambric—hand-made, trimmed with Lace and Insertion of pleasing design. We considered them unusual value at 9/11, their ordinary price—but they are extraordinary bargains at the Sale price

6/11



# Costume Value Extraordinary

From the many splendid bargains offered in Costumes we instance two examples:

The "Montrose" (pictured on left) is one of the newest Tailor-made shapes, in various art shades of the fashiomable Frieze. A glance at the fliustration at the side will give you a correct impression of the style of this excellent Model. The Cont is perfectly balanced and is fitted with Collar and Lapels of its own material, which are faced back with Satin and finished with novel wood mould Buttons, the interior dome of which is composed of the same material as the Cont. The Stirt is of the plain style with panel back and front. The Sale price is

63/-

Made to special measures, 10/6 extra.

The "Excellent" (on right) is an exact reproduction of the newest French shape. It is made in an exceptional variety of coloured Frieze and Navy, Biack, and Coloured Berges, effectively trimmed with Silk Braiding, Buttons, and Lace, and finished at fastening with an Oriental Buckle, the whole effect being at once pleasing and attractive. Sale price

75/-Made to measure, 10/6 extra

FREE BY POST.—Our Illustrated Sale Catalogue is Free by Post to any address. It is full of wonderful bargains. No lady should neglect writing for it.



Peter Robinson's OXFORD STREET.

# COMMENCEMENT OF THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The First Reports to Hand from a Few of the W.S.P.U. Organisers.

A Preliminary List of Forthcoming Meetings appears on the next Page.

The election work of the Women's Social and Political Union is now in full swing. The national organisers and local Unions, each in their own district, are leading an elaborately planned attack upon the Government nominees. From a few of these centres despatches have been received in time to find a place in these columns. We hope to be in a position next week to give particulars of the work in many other districts. But it is not only in these political campaign centres that the fight is being waged; wherever there is a single memher or group of members belonging to the Union, there the Government is being opposed.

No matter how isolated or how unskilled in political work she may be, every woman whose enthusiasm for the cause is real and deep can produce an effect upon the election. In the first place, she will induce those of her friends and relations who have votes to support the woman's cause by voting against the Government. By this means alone the Women's Social and Political Union will produce a great effect throughout the country. Each member of the Union will also undertake the task of influencing the general public. In view of the present crisis women who have never as yet spoken in public will throw aside all hesitation and will take to the platform; but there is other work of equal importance which non-speakers can do. The special election poster, consisting of a cartoon and an appeal to men and women to oppose the Government, is being purchased by members and displayed on hoardings, shop windows, and garden fences and elsewhere.

The distribution of literature at public meetings, in the streets and in correspondence is a prominent feature of the campaign. In addition to the election address, special election leaflets have been issued. These include a leaslet on militant methods, one on the nature of our demand, one especially addressed to Liberal women, one on Mr. Asquith's pledge, and one on the treatment of Suffragette prisoners. They are being distributed broadcast by members of the Union.

The sale of Votes for Women is a most important part of the election work. The paper is full of information and arguments addressed to the electors, and no one is so likely to vote against the Government as the man who purchases and reads a copy of our paper. Although the defeat of the Government nominees must be effected by means of men's votes, it is none the less essential to gain the support of women, if only for the reason that the man whose wife, or sister, or star is anthumaetic for t this the strongest reason why he should support the women at the General Election. Accordingly, every effort will be made throughout the campaign to enrol new members for the Union. Their support will be invaluable not only at the present juncture, but during the campaign to be undertaken when the election is over. We have spoken of the part which women are playing in the General Election, but we are glad to be able to say that men friends of the Union, from one end of the country to the other, are canvassing and working, and will, on election day, be voting for our cause.

#### BRIXTON.

Candidates.—J. H. Seaverns (L.), D. Dalsiel (C). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—80. Brixton Road, S, W. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Mrs. Tanner.

Result in 1906:-L., 4,521; C., 4,235.-Maj., 286. A preliminary meeting of workers has been held, and Miss A. G. Dines has undertaken to

act as election secretary.

ndidates.-E. G. Horniman (L.), S. J. G. Hoare (C). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.-278, King's Road, S.W., and 624, Harrow Road.

W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Haig. Result in 1906:—L., 4,660; C., 4,031.—Maj., 689.

This Parliamentary division includes Kensal Town, and Miss E. Downing, who is organising the campaign there, has taken a shop in the

Harrow Road (No. 624) as committee rooms. Many open-air meetings are already arranged, and public meetings will be announced later. Kensal Town and Chelses are now well billed for three weeks with the "Double-face Asquith" poster. Very welcome help is coming into the fund, including the following generous contributions :- Mies L. Sheppard, 10s.; Miss Barry, £1; Mrs. Pollock, 5s.; Mrs. Rowe, 5s.; Miss W. Shillingford, 5s.; Miss Josohim, £5; Miss Canning, 5s.; Mrs. Monok-Mason, £1; Mies F. Haig, £5; Mies E. Lloyd, £1 1s.; Miss Hudson, £1; Mrs. Forbes, 10s. The Chelsea W.S.P.U. members, who are running the election on their own financial responsibility, are most grateful for this help, the election expenses being very heavy. They hope other kind friends will follow the lead of these contributors. Canvassers, bill-distributors, sandwich-women, and speakers will be most warmly welcomed. Hammersmith and Chiswick W.S.P. Unions are helping Chelses mainly in Kensal Town, which needs much attention. Mrs. East has kindly undertaken the charge of the Kensal Town committee rooms.

#### FULHAM.

Candidates.—Captain Fitzroy Hemphill (L.), W. Hayes Fisher (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—508, Fulham Road, S.W. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Jarvis.

Result in 1906 :- U., 8,037; L., 7,407-Maj., 630. Committee rooms have been taken at 508, Fulham Road, opposite Walham Green Post Office and within a stone's throw of both candidates' central committee rooms. Already fifty posters are out on hoardings, in capital positions near all the railway stations and in the chief main roads, and it is hoped to have another twenty-five out soon. Meetings have been arranged at Kelvedon Hall on the afternoons of December 30 and January 4, when Mrs. Tanner and Mrs. Lamartine Yates are the speakers. An evening meeting will also be held in Kelvedon Hall on January 7, when Mrs. Lamartine Ystes will again speak. Other important arrangements include a public meeting in the Town Hall. With the help of Wimbledon members, and under the generalship of Miss K. Jarvis, the Putney and Fulham W.S.P.U. intends making a good fight against the Government nominee, and members and friends are invited to give their help in general ways, e.g., canvassing, stewarding, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and, above all, speaking at open-air meetings, of which it is hoped to hold at least three or four each evening. Helpers will be gladly welcomed at the committee rooms from 10 a.m. till 9 p.m. Subscriptions towards the expenses of the campaign, which is entirely financed by Putney, Fulham, and Wimbledon members, are also urgently needed.

#### GREENWICH.

Candidates.-F. H. Booth (L.), J. H. Benn (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.-107, High Street, Lewisham. Result in 1906: -L., 4,906; C., 3,565; C., 2,356.-Maj., 1,341.

#### LEWISHAM.

.- Major E. F. Co W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—107, High Street, Lewisham.

Result in 1906:—C., 9,689; L., 8,606.—Maj., 1,683.

The Lewisham W.S.P.U. has undertaken Greenwich (a Liberal constituency) as well as Lewisham. Preliminary work has already begun, and members have promised help most generously. Additional workers, however, are needed, and they are invited to call or send in their names to the Lewisham W.S.P.U. shop, which will be used as a committee room, A public At Home will be held as usual on the second Friday (January 14) at 8 p.m., in the Ethical Hall, Greenwich Road (next door to the Town Hall).

#### ISLINGTON (North). Candidates.—D. S. Waterlow (L.), G. A. Touche (C.) W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—631, Holloway Road,

Result in 1906:-L., 5,284; C., 4,418,-Maj., 866. Workers are urgently needed for the contest in North Islington. The Liberal nominee is Mr. Waterlow. The Conservative candidate is Mr. Touche. The committee rooms, 631, Holloway Road, near the Archway, will be open at 10 a.m. on January 6, 7, and 8, and at 11.30 a.m. during the succeeding week. A special meeting for the instruction of those inexperienced in canvassing, but willing to undertake a little is to be held in the Assembly Rooms, Middle Lane, Crouch End at 7 p.m. punctually on Thursday, January 6, before the first of a series of addresses on "The Evolution of Woman" is given there by Miss Mordan at 8 p.m. All workers who are ready to help at the different open air meetings, either in

speaking, selling papers, or giving out manifestos, are asked to be at the committee rooms not fater than seven o'clock each evening. A large band of chalkers is needed; instructions will be given at the committee rooms whenever they are open. As the expenses of hiring rooms, bill-posting, etc., are heavy, subscriptions from members and friends who have not already contributed will be gladly received by Miss Bonwick, to whom all communications should be sent. Address, before January 5, East End, Roydon, near Ware, Herts; after that date to the committee rooms.

#### KENSINGTON (North).

Candidates.—Sir H. Robson (L.), A. Burgoyne (C.).
W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—129a, Ladbroke Grove,
Notting Hill.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Mrs. Eates.

Result in 1906 : - L., 4,416 ; C., 3,858. - Maj., 1058. The campaign is in full swing, and daily outdoor, indoor, or drawing-room meetingssometimes all three are being held. More offers of drawing-rooms (the audience to be provided by the hostess) are urgently needed, as well as money contributions to pay for the hire of halls, committee rooms, etc., as the election fund has to be raised locally. Volunteers as canvassers, chalkers, bill distributors, etc., to work up meetings are wanted. Will anyone willing to display election or meeting posters or to sell papers apply at the committee rooms? The following (in addition to those announced last week) have contributed to election fund :-Miss Aldis, Mrs. Cape, Miss Limouzin, Miss Morison, Miss Wylie, Miss B. Wylie, Miss

#### MARYLEBONE (East).

Candidates.—W. Leaf (L.), Dr. R. L. Moon (L.), R. Jebb (C.), J. Bayton, (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.-147, Harley Street, Maryle-bone W.S.P.U.

Result in 1906 :- C., 2,827 ; L., 2,167 .- Maj. 660. Marylebone W.S.P.U. members are undertaking the campaign, and workers are urged to send in their names and the time they can spare during the election to Mrs. Nourse, 20, Weymouth Street, W. Mrs. Morris has kindly lent 147, Harley Street as committee rooms for

#### WEST HAM (North).

Candidates.—C. F. G. Masterman (L.), E. Gray (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.-129, Earlham Grove, Forest

W.S.P.U. Organisar.—Miss Friedlaender. Result in 1906:-L., 6,838; C., 5,094.-Maj., 1,744.

East Marylebone.

The campaign against Mr. Masterman has begun. Speakers, Votes for Women sellers, canvassers, and workers of all sorts are invited to call as soon as possible at 129, Earlham Grove, Forest Gate. Ilford members are helping the Forest Gate W.S.P.U.

#### BRADFORD (East).

 Gandidates.—Sir W. E. B. Priestley (L.), J. H. Balfour Brown, K.C. (C.), E. R. Hartley (Lab.).
 W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—560, Leeds Road. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Mary Phillips. Result in 1906: — L., 6,185; C., 4,877; Lab., 3,090. — Maj., 1,908.

A very stiff fight lies before the workers, and all possible help will be welcomed. Mrs. Child and Miss N. Newton, who are in charge of the committee rooms, will be glad to set volunteers to work at once. The high-handed action of the local Liberals in excluding women, except on degrading conditions, from Mr. Runciman's meeting on December 21, has roused local Liberal women's indignation, and has added to the ranks of the militants.

#### BRISTOL (North). Candida tes.—Right Hon. A. Birrell, K.C. (L.), M. H. Woods (C.).

W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—182, Stapleton Road, Bristol. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Annie Kenney. Result in 1906:—L., 6,953; C., 4,011.—Maj., 2,942.

The campaign opened this week, and the mmittee rooms, with election posters in the window, have already attracted the interest of large crowds. Meetings dinner-hour and evening-are being held, and members are hard at work canvassing. Volunteers are needed; will they communicate without delay with Miss Annie Kenney? North Bristol is Mr. Birrell's constituency, and it is of great importance that a vigorous campaign should be waged.

# **DUNDEE** (Two Seats). Candidates.—Right Hon. W. Churchill (L.), J. Glass (C.), J. S. Seymour Lloyd (C.), A. Wilkie (Lab). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—33, Union Street. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss McLean.

Result in 1908 .- L., 7,079; C., 4,370; Lab., 4,014; Ind., 655.- Maj., 2,709. A vigorous campaign will be opened immediately, and volunteers are asked to communi-

cate with the organiser at the above address.

LIVERPOOL (Exchange). Gandidates.—M. Muspratt (L.), Leslie Scott, K.C. (C.), W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—25, Berry Street.
W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Flatman.
Result in 1906:—L., 2,291; C., 2,170.—Maj., 121.

LIVERPOOL (Abercromby). didates.—Rt. Hon. Colonel Seeley (L.), Colonel B. G. W. Chaloner (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—28, Berry Street. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Miss Fraser Smith.

Result in 1906:-L., 2,933; C., 2,734.-Maj., 199 Willing volunteers are coming forward in it division, and more are needed. Will they call at 28, Berry Street and see the organiser in charge? The Liverpool and Cheshire W.S.P.U. is at work in both divisions,

#### MIDDLESEX (Harrow).

Candidates.-P. Harris (L.), H. C. M. Deeley (C.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.—215, High Road, Kilburn. W.S.P.U. Organiser.—Mrs. Fahey.

Result in 1906 :- C., 11,393: I., 10,977 -- Wat., 416.

The North-West London W.S.P.U. have undertaken the work in this constituency, and are already actively employed, with Mrs. Fahey as organiser. The shop is thronged with busy workers, and many have cheerfully given up their Christmas week's holiday in order to help. Open-air meetings have already begun, and the canvassers are at work. For public meetings in different parts of this huge constituency see the programme of events, p. 220. Workers in the district are invited to call at the committee rooms, where work will be found

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (Two Seats). Gandidates.—E. Shortt (L.), G. Benwick (C.), Sir W. B., Plummer (C.), W. Hudson (Lab.). W.S.P.U. Comm. Rms.-19, Nixon Street, Lovaine

W.S.P.U. Organiser.-Miss Williams. Besult in 1908: -C., 13,863; L., 11,720; Lab., 2,971. Con. Maj. 2,143.

The shop in Westgate Road and the committee room in Blackett Street are open all day, and members and friends anxious to take their chare in the campaign are invited to call at either. Many helpers are wanted-to speak, to sell Votes for Women, and to distribute literature. The organiser hopes that members will buy and induce their friends to buy the special election posters, and see that they are conspicuously displayed.

#### POINTS FROM LETTERS.

Among a number of interesting letters which have recently appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette on Woman Suffrage, we may quote from one signed A. W. P .: " If the Tariff Reformers are right the Budget will diminish my income. In either case, I am only touched in my pocket. But if I help to keep in office a Government whose conduct to women I consider disgraceful I share in the disgrace, and I prefer to risk only my cash." And again he says: "As I have said, I nave no love for Tariff Reform as it is likely to be administered at present, and I have no love either for the House of Lords as at present composed. But I can face five years of Tarm Reform and five more of an unreformed House of Lords with equanimity. What I cannot face with equanimity is the idea of Mrs. Pankhurst being forcibly fed, and I believe that no man who has seen her and heard her speak and realises the frightful indignity which forcible feeding would involve to such a woman, if he thinks seriously of the matter, can be prepared to acquiesce in such an outrage!"

Mr. O. L. Beck, of Chinnor, near Wallingford, and Mr. H. A. Weldon, 43, Central Park Avenue, Liscard, are using their wote in the General Election in the interests of the women's cause.

Mr. Victor Prout writes from Palmers Green that because he thinks the enfranchisement of women by far the most important political question of the moment, he places his vote at the disposal of the W.S.P.U. Four friends of Mr. Prout are doing the same, and Mr. John Casey, of Judd Street, W.C., writes to the same effect.

A Scottish correspondent tells us that the last political prisoner in the Calton Gaol, Edinburgh, was William Brown, who in 1859 was imprisoned for refusing to pay the annuity tax. In view of the political nature of his offence, he was permitted to receive papers, letters, and visits from friends. Now fifty years later two women have been imprisoned for a similar motive, but the treatment they have suffered is in strange contrast. Curiously enough, William Brown, like Miss Hudson and Miss Brown, had the tax paid by somebody else, and they might well say, in his words: "I had no elternative but to leave gaol when the tax was paid, which was not done with my consent. I used my influence to prevent its being paid. I could do no more."

Mr. W. Richardson, of 21, Waverley Terrace, Leopold Street, Leeds, sends a letter formally placing his vote at the lext election at the dis otal of his wife as a protest against the brutal treatment of women by the Liberal Government. His vote at the last election was

Mr. Singer writes to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence that it has been decided to give his second daughter, born a few days ago, "the honoured names of yourself and Mrs. Pankhust, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Annie Kenney -Emmeline Christabel Kenney Singer. As there is to be no christening ceremony, cloak, or cake, Mr. and Mrs. Singer are sending £3 3s. towards the £5,000 General Election Fund.

A correspondent draws our attention to a new company which is being formed in the City, called the Premier Reforming Co., Ltd., and asks whether this is the effect of Miss Pankhurst's speech at Winchester House

#### PROGRAMME OF EVENTS

	PROGRAMMI	E OF EVENTS.	
Prinay, SI	Hristol, Lewin's Mead Unitra. Chapei Narrow Weir, Outside Adlam's Portland Square Armoury Square Horsefalt. Fishponds, Station Road London—Kensal Town, Fifth Avenue and Kilburn Lane. Kensal Town, Hastlewood Crescent and Golborns Road. Kensal Town, Becond Avenue and Harrow Road.	Miss Barrett Miss Garnett Miss Liddle Miss Liddle	1.30 pm. 1.50 pm. 1.50 pm. 7.50 pm. 7.30 pm. 7.30 pm. 7.30 pm. 7.30 pm. 7.30 pm. 7.30 pm.
Baturday, 1	Bristol, Armoury Square Fishponds, Station Road Horsefair Liverpool—Dingle London—Notting Hill, Small Ladbroke Hall Kensal Town, Hastlewood Crescent and Golborne Road Kensal Town, Third Avenue and Harrow Road Kensal Town, Fifth Avenue and	Miss Garnett. Miss Kenney Dr. Jones Miss Flatman, Miss Joachim, Miss Fraser Smith  Miss Evelyn Sharp, H. W. Nevinson, Esq. Chair: Dr. L. Garrett Ander- son  Miss East.  Miss Naylor	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 6 p.m. 3 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Sunday, 2	Kilburn Lane Kensal Town, Second Avenue and Harrow Road Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket Bigg Market  London—Wimbledon Common  Brighton, The Dome  Bristol, Horsefair Portland Square	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Miss Kenney. Dr. Jones.	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m 1 and 7.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 1.50 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m.
	Zetland Road. Armoury Square Fishponds, Station Road Horsefair Liverpoot, Exchange Fings Ogden's Gates Wellington Column Ding'e London—St. James's Hall, At Home Ohelsen, Sloane Square Chelsen, Caroline Place Chelsea, World's End, St. John's Chelsea, World's End, St. John's	Miss Barrett Dr. Jones Miss Barrett Miss Garnett  Laurence Housman, Esq., Miss Christobel Pankhurst Dr. F. Murray, Miss Naylor Miss Kelly, Miss Barry Miss Canning, Mrs. Nesbit Mrs. Boyd Dawson, Miss Barwell	1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1 p.m. 2 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 3—5 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Sucoday, 4	Hall (Women) Kensal Road, Middle Row School. Kensal Town, Hastlewood Creacent and Go-borne Road. Kensal Town, Third Avenue and Harrow Road. N. Kensington Gas Works Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket Bigg Market Scarborough, Callin's Arcadis Birkenhead. Bristo', City Road Chapel.	Miss Canning, Miss Liddle Miss Evelyn Sharp, Joseph Clayton, Esq. Chair: Mrs Estes Miss Downing Mrs, Pitfield Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Nourse Miss A. Pankhurst Release of Miss Norbury Dr. Jones	3 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 12.30 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 1.30 p.m.
	St. James's Square Outside Adlam's Armoury Square Fishponds, Station Boad Horsefair Canterbury, St. Margaret's Hall Liverpool—Exchange Flags Dingle Wellington Column 48, Mount Fleasant London—Chelsea, Sloane Square Che'ses, Markham Square Chelsea, Caroline Place Chelsea, World's End Chelsea, World's End Chelsea, Sidney Hall, Pond Place	Miss Barrett Miss Kenney Miss Garnett Dr. Jones. Miss Barrett Mrs. Pankhurst Mrs. Pankhurst Mrs. Pitfield Miss Barry, Mrs. Boyd Dawson Mrs. Canning Mrs. tharman, Miss Liddle, Miss	1.50 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 1 p.m. 1 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.50 p.m. 7.50 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Wędnesday, 5	Kensal Town, Hastlewood Crascent and Goldborne Road Kensal Town, Third Avenue and Harrow Road Lanouster Road Lanouster Road Chapell, Catton Hall Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket Bigg Market Bristol (Eastville) Gas Works Horsefair King & Square	Miss Phillips Miss Downing Miss B. Wyrie, Miss L. Blundell Miss Mary Gawthorpe.  Miss Garnett Miss Kenney Miss Barrett	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.15 p.m. 2 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m 1 and 7.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m.
	Armoary Square Horsefair Fishponds, Station Road Haslingden, Release of Nurse Bryant Liverp sol, Exchange Flags Ding's Weilington Column London—Chel os, Sloane Square. Chelsea—World's End, St. John's Hall N. Kensington, At Home, 25, Bassett Road Not ing Hill, Lancaster Road Baths Notting Hill, Portobelle Rd, School Sou h St. Pancess, Manchester	Miss Burett Dr. Jones Miss Kenney  Miss Gillint Mcs. Chapman, Mrs. B. Dawson, Miss Canning Miss Mur el Toampson, J. Cameron Grant, Esq. Miss L. Ph hips, Miss B. Wylis Dr. Flora Murr. y. Chair: Miss Evelyn tharp.	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 1 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.50 p.m. 4-6.30 p.m. 7.15 p.m.
Thursday, 6	Birest Newcas'le on Tyre, Haymarket. Bigg Market Orosby's Cafe. Scarberough, Old Town Hall Bristol, Houlton Street Ropewalk Susser Piace Armoury Square Horsela r Fishponds, Station Road Hull, Royal Institution.	Mrs. Pankhurst.  Mrs. Williams and others. Lantern Lecture  Pr. Jones. Mi a Barrett Mrs. Garnett Miss Garnett Miss Garnett Miss Rannet Miss Helen Ogston, Rev. J M. Lloyd Thomas. Chair: Miss Harrison.	1 and 7.30 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Exchange Flags. Orden's Gares London—Chelses Town Hall. Crouch End Assembly Rooms Lons tale Road, Fortobello Road N. Kensington, Oxford Gardens Schoo St. James's Hall, At Home Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket. Bigg Market	Mrs. Pankhurs, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Chapman, Miss Naylor Miss Mordan, Miss Starry Mrs. Nourse Miss Brackenbury. Chair: Miss Morrison, B.4. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	1 p.m. 1 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.15 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m.
	Bristol — Lewin's Mead Unitarian Chapel Narrow Weir, Oetside Adlam's Portland Square Armoury Square Fishponds, Station Road Horsefair Cottingham, King Street School Driffield, Drawing-ro in Meeting Liverpeol, Exchange Flags London—Cheisea, Sidney Hall, Pend Place Hariesdan, Leopold Road School N. Kensington, Edinburgh Road.	Miss Kenney Miss Garneti Dr. Jones Miss Honney Miss Garneti Miss Surreti Miss Helen Ogston Miss Helen Ogston Miss Helen Ogston Miss Helen Ogston Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss B. Wylie	1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.50 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 1.30 p.m. 2.30 p.m. 2. p.m. 2. p.m. 2. p.m. 3. p.m. 3. p.m. 3. p.m. 3. p.m.
Sakurday 8	N. Kensington, Edinburgh Bond. Manchester, Al Home, Onward Building, Deansgate. Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket. Bigg Market  Bristol, Armony Squere Fishpenda Station Read Horsefair Newcastle-on-Tyne, Haymarket. Barr Harket	Miss Mary Gawthorpe  Miss Garneti Miss Somey  Dr. Jones	8 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m. 1 and 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 1 und 7.30 p.m.

#### IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

1916 January 10	London—Battersen, Town Hall Maschester, Miss Emily Davison's	Miss Pankhursi	8 p.m.
	Free Trade Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gaw- thorpe	8 p.m.
January 11	London—Chelses, Town Hall Kensal Rise, Harvist Boad School Nottingham, Albert Hall	Miss Ogston, Miss G. Brackenbury Miss Pankhurst Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m.
January 12	Bradford, Demonstration, Central Baths Hall London—Notting Hill Gate, Horbury Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Charlotte Marsh, Miss Mary Phillips Miss Christebel Pankhurst, Miss Garrett Anderson. Chair: Mrs.	8 p.m.
	Scarborough, Old Town Hall	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m. 8 p.m.
January 13	Liverpool, Hope Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
anuary 14	London-Battersea	Miss Pankfiurst, Miss G. Brackenbury	8 p.m.
January 15	London, Rehearsal Theatre, Maiden Lane, Strand Manchester, Mrs. Gwynna's At Home	Drummers' Union Entertainment	7.45 p.m
January 17	Liverpool, Picton Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Fanuary 24	Worksop, Galety Theatre	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.

#### THE SCOTTISH EXHIBITION.

Scottish workers are already busy preparing for the great Exhibition which they will hold on April 28, 29, and 30. Some of the stalls have already been arranged. The Edinburgh members are getting up two leaders' stalls, dedicated respectively to Mrs. Pankhurst and General Drummond, while the Glasgow members, especially Mrs. Craig, the Misses Robertson, Mrs. Russell, Mrs. Boyd, and Miss Ellison Gibb, are responsible for the Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and the Miss Christabel Pankhurst stalls. There will also be a produce stall arranged by Mrs. Gillies, of Churnside, Berwick; flower stall, by Mrs. Hill, of Annan; Dumfries and Stirling stall, by Miss Ure; a Bridge-of-Weir, Paisley and Helensburgh Stall, by Mrs. Reid and Mrs. Gubb; and refreshment stall, by Mrs. White and the Misses McCulloch. In addition to these, there will be two Glasgow stalls, an international stall, and curie, blouse, millinery, and parcel stalls.

#### IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Our paragraph in a recent issue stating that the Irish Women's Franchice League had taken premises at 61, Scottish Temperance Buildings, Belfast, should have appeared under the above title, and not under Irish Women's Franchice League, the two societies being distinct. Meetings are held every Monday evening, at 8 p.m., and sympathisers are invited to apply for literature and information.

#### TWO DEATHS.

Manchester has lost an excellent voluntary worker in Miss Helen B. Thomson, who passed away in her sleep on Friday, December 17. Miss Thomson was a remarkable instance of a woman thoroughly awakened on political matters. She had done much social and religious work in Edinburgh before devoting herself to temperance and political work in Manchester, and was sent as a delegate by her Edinburgh Association during the troublous years of Agrarian agitation to investigate and report upon the Irish question. Her last effort in the militant cause was a caravan tour in the South of England.

Another ardent worker for the cause has passed away in Mrs. Shore, of Southsea, a working woman, who gave as much time as she could spare to helping the cause, and was selling the paper in the streets up to the day of her illness. Her help and sympathy will be greatly missed by Southsea workers.

Think less of giving to eat and drink and more of strong thoughts and personal service for those who are oppressed with wrong, bearing in special recollection those who have suffered imprisonment that others may be free.

—Mr. Cecil Chapman's Christmas message to the Evening New.

THOS.

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#### BRUTAL TREATMENT OF REMANDED PRISONERS.

The scant reports in the daily Press would hed one to suppose that all attempts to reach the Prime Minister on his visit to Lancashire and Cheehire failed, whereas the truth is that he was persistently reminded of the women's de-mand by a number of women. The protest resulted in the arrest of three women, one of whom, Miss Selina Martin, has been subjected, while on remand, to the most degrading and brutal treatment yet perpetrated by prison officials in the history of this agitation. Nurse Lupton, outside the Reform Club, as Mr. Asquith alighted from his car, asked him when he was going to put his Liberal principles into practice. Miss Selina Martin and Miss Leslie Hall, disguised as a match-seller and an orange-seller respectively, approached as near as the force of police and detectives allowed and Miss Martin. while on remand, to the most degrading and police and detectives allowed, and Miss Martin threw an empty ginger-beer bottle through the window of his motor our as a protest. Both were arrested. Every station, as well as the ferry to Birkenhead, was picketed, there being several possible ways of crossing. One woman, waiting at the ferry for the luggage boat in which it had been understood he would cross, was told by one of the hundred police on duty that his plans had been altered at the last moment. Meanwhile, another at the Central Station saw him hustled along the luggageway in the midst of a solid body of detectives, brought to the platform in the luggage lift, and hurried into a train. She dashed forward, saying: "Give votes to women, Mr. Asquith." On the other side he was met by Mrs. S. J. Hall and Nurse Lupton, who again reminded him of the women's demand. Miss Fraser Smith, dashing to another door, also questioned him. At the Hippodrome he was again, reminded by Miss Flatman, who was surrounded by a very sympathetic crowd, who shouted for a speech; he was conveyed back to the Liver-

pool side in a lyggage boat. On Tuesday Mr. Asquith visited the Liverpool Junior Reform Club, and even there was not allowed to escape the attention of the Suffragettes, two of whom broke one of the windows and escaped without observation.

#### Bail Refused.

Miss Selina Martin and Miss Leslie Hall were remanded by Mr. Shepherd Little for a week, bail being refused, although the women were quite ready to promise that no disturbance should take place in the meantime. The evidence against Miss Martin was that she threw a ginger-beer bottle into the motor car in which Mr. Asquith had been driven to the hall. No damage was done. Against Miss Hall there was no evidence at all except that she was seen by a policeman "raising her hands," and that she had in her possession a catapult and several pieces of iron. The magistrate ordered a remand for six days in order that inquiries about the women might be made.

Although uncerricked, the women were taken to Walton Gaol, and outrageously treated by

On the following morning Miss Martin broke fourteen windows and barricaded her cell, keeping the officials out for some time. Eventually the head wardress and others entered the cell, fell upon Miss Martin, and pummelled her anmercifully, pulling her off the bed, and throwing her on the floor. The doctor told her his intention was not to release her, but to feed her at once. He ordered her to be dressed in her wet clothes, and she was taken to a cold, damp cell, without ventilation, handouffed with hands behind, and left on the floor. She was also

kept in irons all night. On Thursday night she was thrown down, and frog-marched up some steps, one wardress holding her legs and another dragging her by the hair, her head she was carried. After being forcibly fed the was dragged to the top of the steps and thrown down, handcuffed. She had a terrible struggle every time the forcible feeding took place, and had, in addition, to endure the sneers of the doctor because she asked for a woman physician. When Miss Martin complained to the visiting magistrates about the brutal treatmen; she had received, their only reply was: "Well, the wardresses were justified." The cruellest part of the forcible feeding was the vicious manner in which the doctor ferced the gag into her mouth, remarking: "Does that hurt you?" although he knew it was impossible for her to answer. Another doctor asked her if she was not afraid to come there. She replied: "No, the fear is not on our side, but with the Cabinet Ministers.'

Miss Leslie Hall also broke her cell windows, and was removed to a punishment cell, so freezingly cold that she could hardly articulate; she was subsequently removed to a alightly warmer cell. Her bedding was removed during the day, and she was handouffed. She was forcibly fed, and was sick after every meal. At midday on Saturday she was removed to the hospital and fed by spoon. Unnecessary pressure was used in holding her nose, and the process was very painful. During her first meal in hospital, while she was gagged and helpless, insolent remarks were made by a

#### Three Months' Hard Labour.

Miss Martin and Miss Hall were again taken before the magistrate on Monday, December 27. Miss Martin was sentenced to one month's imprisonment, or in default, a fine of 40s., and Miss Hall was sent to prison for a month with hard labour. A further charge was brought against Miss Martin for breaking fourteen panes of glass in Walton Gaol last August, when she was sent to prison for protesting at a meeting addressed by Mr. Haldane. For this offence she was sentenced to an additional two months' hard labour. In the police-court, waiting for the Black Maria, Miss Martin wrote to her fellow-members: "The good and gene-rous stipendiary has dealt out his idea of justice bountifully by sending me to three months' hard labour. A happy New Year to you all. No surrender! Victory or death!-At the close of the police Selina Martin." court proceedings four women came forward and offered themselves for whatever militant action was wanted by the W.S.P.U.

#### MISS TAYLOR'S EXPERIENCES

Miss Nellie Taylor, who made her first milftant protest at Crewe on December 9 by breaking the windows of the Reform Club and striking Mr. Winston Churchill's cab with a stone, was, it will be remembered, remanded for a week on bail, and subsequently sent for a week's imprisonment in Stafford Gaol. She was released on Docember 23, after making a valiant fight. The doctor tried to break down her resolution to carry out the hunger strike by tempting her with first-class treatment in the hospital, but, although delicate and run down, she resisted. He also told her that the Home Secretary had wired instructions that she was to be forcibly fed and not released, John Barker & Co.,

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and that he had told Mr. Gladstone it could be done without danger to her health. She was then forcibly fed three or four times each day. The liquid, while it relieved the terrible weakness, intensified the craving for solid food. After one week of this torture Miss Taylor writes to a friend: "I can only wonder how those women who have endured months of it are alive. The hunger strike itself is quite punishment enough, and when I think that some of our women have fasted for over six days it seems marvellous. I weighed six stone eleven when I went in, and after a fifty hours' hunger strike I lost half a stone. The hunger strike is terrible, and one who, like myself, has never felt real hunger, cannot possibly imagine what it is to lie awake all night and crave for food . . . the night's were agony—they's emed like years." Referring to her protest, Miss Taylor says some of the Liberal men seemed to lose their self-control completely, and they set upon her "like wild beasts." One gave her a blow on the face and another tried to choke

#### THE ARRESTS AT SWANSEA.

Most of the newspaper accounts of the arrest of Miss Vers Wentworth and Miss Elsie Mackenzie at Swanses on Tuesday, December

21, report that they were found in the Albert Hall with housebreaking instruments, including a toy pistol. The instruments in their possession were simply ordinary workmen's tools carried in a tool bag. In the police court they were detained on a charge of having housebreaking instruments in their possession without lawful excuse, a prisoner was told off to search them, and they were kept in the police station all night. On the following day they were brought up for trial, and the charge was altered to one of being in the building at night with housebreaking implements without lawful excuse. Their dark lantern was described by a wisness as "up-to-date," and the magistrate's comment was that "of course Suffragettes were always up-to-date. As no evidence was forthcoming, they were remanded in custody in Swansea Gaol until Thursday, the 23rd, when they were told there was no evidence agains' them. They were, therefore, discharged, after two days' detention in gaol.

Miss Lilian Norbury, charged with breaking a window (value 3s.) at the offices of the Birkenlead Liberal Association, on Tuesday, Dewas sent to prison for fourteen days' hard labour. Up to the time of going to press we understand that she has been in the punishment cell all the time.

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#### Mr. SAMUEL AT GOLCAR.

To deliver a presidential address to young Liberals, Mr. Herbert Samuel visited Goloar (Yorkshire) on Tuesday, Dec. 21. In spite of all precautions, a Suffragette was present at the meeting. During Mr. Samuel's speech she rose and exclaimed, "How ridiculous to talk about self-government when women are voteless!" A detective secured her, and conducted her from the building. The President of the Linthwaite Women's Liberal Association wrote to the local Press expressing her intense regret that the unquestionably Liberal principle—that women are part of the people-was deliberately excluded by all the speakers, and adding:-I could not but be sympathetic with the Suffragette from Clements Inn, who, according to their consistent tactics, reminded Mr. Samuel of this point at one of the appropriate moments in his speech.

#### A HAPPY REUNION.

Through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence the W.S.P.U. organisers and heads of departments were entertained to din-ner last Tuesday evening at the Holborn Res-taurant. The guests, about forty in number, had a delightful time, and were particularly inhad a delightful time, and were particularly interested in the graphic and amusing experiences informally described by those who had taken part in many now famous heckling scen s. Among those present were Miss Charlotte Marsh, who spoke a few brave words of her experiences, and Miss Teresa Garnett, who declared herself ready for anything and everything should her help be required. The only note of sadness during the evening was the reference to the two Liverpool prisoners—Miss Martin and Miss Hall—who have already undergone such brutal treatment and have received such monstrous sentences. The singing oeived such monstrous centences. The singing of the "Marseillaise" and a most hearty vote of thanks to the kind host and hostess concluded a happy evening, typical of the good fellowship of the members of this Union.

The Birmingham branch of the Men's League carried last week a unanimous resolution adopting the election policy of the W.S.P.U. This resolution is being sent to

every candidate.

Members will be interested to know that the Members will be interested to know that the Sketch of December 15 contains two full-page pictures which testify to the interest of the public in the Suffrage movement. One shows Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, while behind them looms dimly, but clearly recognisable, a portrait of Miss Teresa Garnett. In the same number will be found a splendid portrait of Miss Jessie Kenney in the uniform of a telegraph boy, which she used in her attempt recently to speak to Mr. Asquith at the Abert Hall.



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#### AFRED DAY.

2

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#### A STATE OF SIEGE.

St. George's Hall, Bradford, and the sur-rounding streets were in a state of siege on the

#### PENALISED FOR BEEPING A PROMISE.

Some time ago two members of the W.S.P.U. engaged a taxi-cab, and being aware that they were followed by a detective, who showed great interest in their box—which, had he known it, contained only clothes-asked their driver not to mention their destination if he should be questioned. The driver kept his word, and refused information to a plain-clothes man who addressed him

The editor of The Chauffeur asks us to draw attention to the disgraceful sequel to this trivial little incident. On the following day a plainclothes officer called at the taxi-man's ledgings and remarked to the landlady that no doubt he had been arrested and would probably lose his licence. On the following day this officer had the driver summoned to the Motor Cab Company's office, where he was solemnly warned of the fate that would overtake him as a result of his keeping his word to the ladies. A few days later, having left his cab for a few moments in order to see some friends, he was arrested on his return on a fabricated charge of drunkenness, examined by the police surgeon, fined, and had his licence endorsed. Not only that, but his Scotland Yard licence, which he requires to earn his living, has been cancelled. The editor of The Chauffeur concludes:-"Hartopp believes-and I think there are reasonable grounds for such belief-that the police waited and watched for an opportunity of formulating a charge against him. I strongly protest against this system of persecution, which reduces the claim that England is a free country to a mere boast without substance or foundation. Had this man been engaged in conveying notorious Anarchists his treatment could hardly have been worse, and I think you will agree with me that the fact of two women and a box being able to disturb the official mind to such an extent that they need go out of their way to harass this poor chauffeur, whose chief fault-if fault it is-consisted of a conscientious endeavour to keep his promise, says little for the acumen and ability of our metropolitan de-tective staff. My object in writing this letter is to appeal to your readers to assist me in finding a cituation for this man, who has proved himself a faithful servant, and has endeayoured, in his humble way, to prove his sympathy with women in their struggle for political freedom."

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much reason to make

occasion of Mr. Runoiman's meeting there (December 21). Tickets were refused at the last moment to all women known to have the least sympathy with the W.S.P.U., even though they were prepared to take any pledge required, and a great deal of indignation was aroused thereby against the promoters of the meeting and the party they serve. A very well-known Bradford resident. Mrs. Beldon, wrote to the Yorkshire Observer, pointing out that while the local Liberal Association had possibly succeeded in preventing a demonstration by the W.S.P.U., it had also roused the indignation of women who had hitherto never counteranced, much less taken part in, any m'litant campaign. She continues:-"I feel now convinced that the Inberal party, by the distrust they show towards women, are proving themselves unworthy of the support of women who, until recently, believed them to stand for the principles of freedom and democracy. I for one feel that the only attitude I can now take is one of opposition to a party which prevents women from hearing the Minister who is paid by the people to control the education of our

#### Shopping early on New Year Morning is a good start for 1910. The last embers of the Yule log have become ashes, and the new year finds resolutions made-and meant to be kept\_old methods renounced, and new plans formulated. 36 And the new order of things WILL succeedwill prosper—with judicious fostering, and so we present—for those who are interested—a short list of Belps for the Suffrage Movement 20 Sheets Notepaper and 20 Envelopes, in box, each Wrist Bags, in the colours, made of a soft but durable sheet and envelope stamped kid, pull top, cords and in diamond relief tri-colour - - 101d. box tassel, most handy for shopping - 2/6 and 3/6 Desk with Engagement Diary and Blotting Pad, which is standard size so that it may be refilled with Engagement Tablet, covered in strong art cloth, with pencil, will stand and paper from any stationer. The whole is covered with has detachable spaces for art cloth, and can be had 365 days - - - 1/in various art shades - 2/8 Ladies' Fine Kid Gloves, Ladies' Heavy Kid Gloves, exceptional value, black, Pique Sewn, in Tans, Beaver, and White - white, and all colours - -- - - - 2/6 a pair - - 1/11 a pair -and all these are Post Free in Britain. Selfridge's OXFORD ST., LONDON, W., Belfridge and Co., Ltd.,

#### WOMEN AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

In a paragraph in our issue of December 17 we referred to Miss Marianne H. W. Robilliard as a woman who had, for the first time in history, won the Royal Academy gold medal and travelling scholarship for historical painting. Although this is technically correct, it is perhaps slightly misleading to readers who do not know that the travelling scholarship has only recently been attached to the award of the gold medal. Twice previously the medal has been won by a woman-once by Miss Louisa Starr (afterwards Mme. Canziani) and once by Miss Jessie Macgregor, both of whom achieved the highest possible honour.

#### IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The name of the lady who made a brilliant defence of the militant tactics at one of this League's recent meetings in Dublin is Miss Tatlow, not Tatton, as stated in a recent issue. Miss Tatlow is a member of the W.S.P.U.

#### THE SUFFRAGE ATELIER.

The Suffrage Atelier is concentrating attention on pictorial work, posters, cartoons, etc., for the General Election, and will discontinue ordinary meetings, while the Election lasts. The Cartoon Club meetings will take place as usual at Edwardes Square on Wednes-days at 2.45. All particulars can be had from the cretary, Suffrage Atelier Studio, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.

Since the formation of the West Essex Women's ety, of whi of the honorary secretaries, four public meetings have been held in Chigwell, Loughton, and Epping, besides yarious drawing-room debates, etc. The society started on July 1 with a membership of 55, and now numbers

#### EXPERIMENTS WITH A **WELL-KNOWN COUGH CURE.**

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Chas. Hyatt - Woolf, Esq., F.R.P.S., F.R.S.L., Editor of "Popular Science Siftings," writes in his new book, Truths About Things We Live On and Daily Use:—"With a view to discovering a form of medicine needed to diminish congestion, aid expectoration, and soothe the respiratory track, I experimented in the laboratory with Veno's Lightning Cough Cure and applied it in practice. I found this remedy contained a variety of matters capable of affording relief in all those cases where coughing is a symptom. Not only this, but it is a distinct nerve sedative and tonic, and is not only applicable with advantage in cases of bronchial coughs but also for stomach coughs. It would likewise have a certain value in consumption, it showed distinct ability to abate feveriah symptoms, and in all cases to which I applied it the influence of Veno's Lightning Cough Cure was most marked. It contains no opiate or anything that could affect harm."

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#### ROUSING LINCOLNSH'RE.

The Suffragettes held their first meeting in Lincolnshire recently, when a very successful ticket meeting took place in Boston. The largest hall in the town was filled with a most appreciative audience. Miss Gilliatt, an old Bost was in the chair; the Rev. Dr. Smythe, of Sutton, and Mr. Buckland, of Derby, spoke strongly in favour of the movement, and roused much sympathy and applause. Miss Naylor's splendid address was received with the greatest interest and appreciation, and many questions were asked and answered. As a result of the interest aroused a drawing-room meeting was held on Saturday afternoon, and an openair meeting in the Market Place in the evening, at which Miss Naylor and Miss Gilliatt addressed an audience of upwards of 700 persons. Many copies of Votes for Women and other literature were sold, and the organisers of the meeting Miss Cheavin and Miss R. Wright, to whom much of the success is due—are hoping to continue the work so auspiciously begun. Will any sympathisers in Lincolnshire willing to help please communicate with Miss Cheavin, Sydney House, Spileby Road, Boston.

#### THE SUFFRAGETTE AND THE WEST-MINSTER PLAY.

Of course the forcibly-fed suffragette was introduced into the Epilogue of the Westminster Latin Play this year, the instrument used being a bleycle pump. A mamber of the W.S.P.U. promptly sent to the headmaster a copy of Vores for Women with the beautiful portrait of Charlotte Marsh, suggesting that the boys who took part in the Play might be interested to see a picture of a real Suffragette who had been forcibly fed over of a real Suffragette who had been forcibly fed over a hundred times. A courteous reply came by return of post, in which Dr. Gow said the conclusion had en come to on the first night of the Play b fun was not quite pretty," and that on the two last nights it had been altered "so that the Suffragatio should have the best of it."

#### CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

The Edinburgh branch has arranged to hold contbly At Homes during the winter. Answers from monthly At Homes uning the Committee of the Committee of



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